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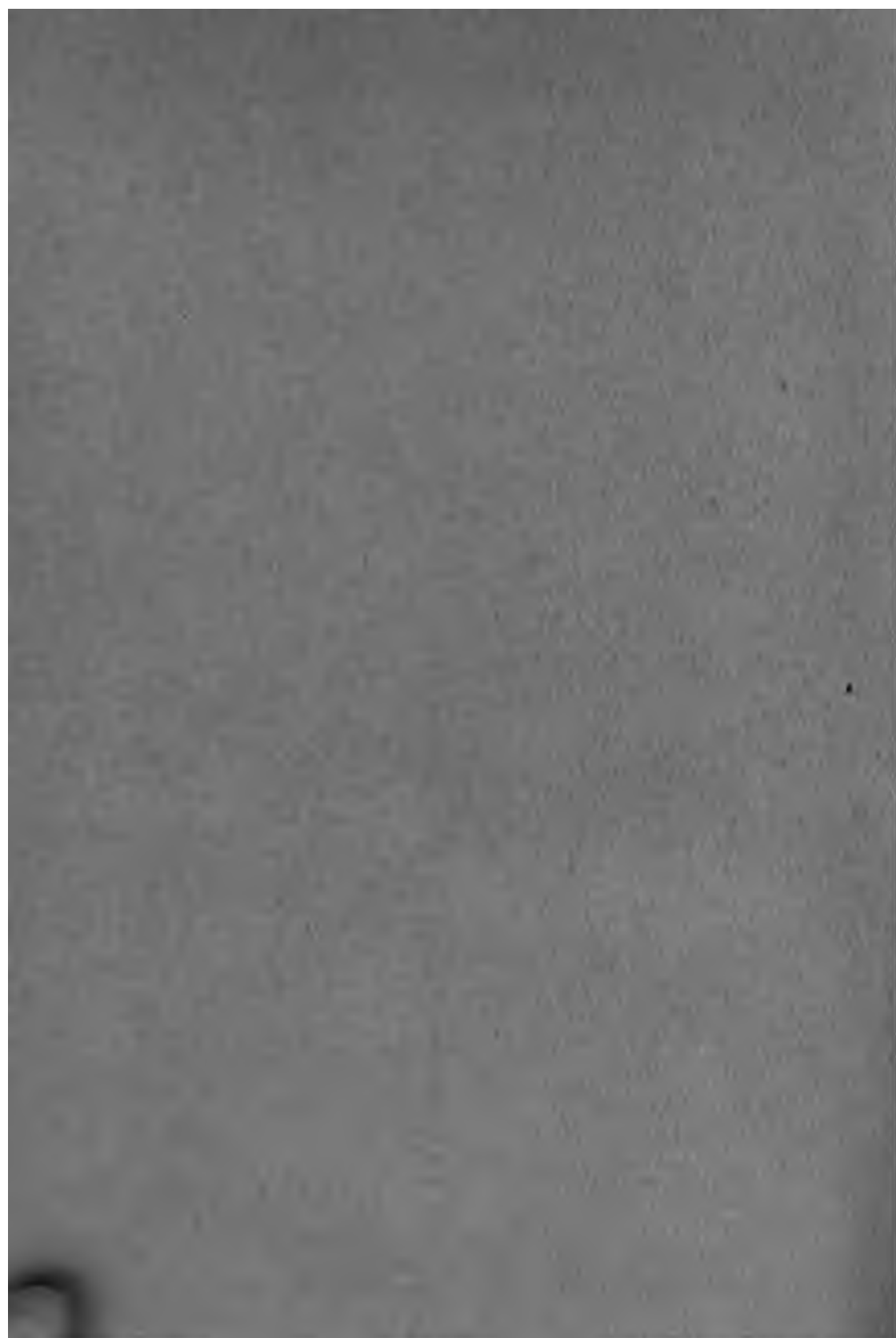
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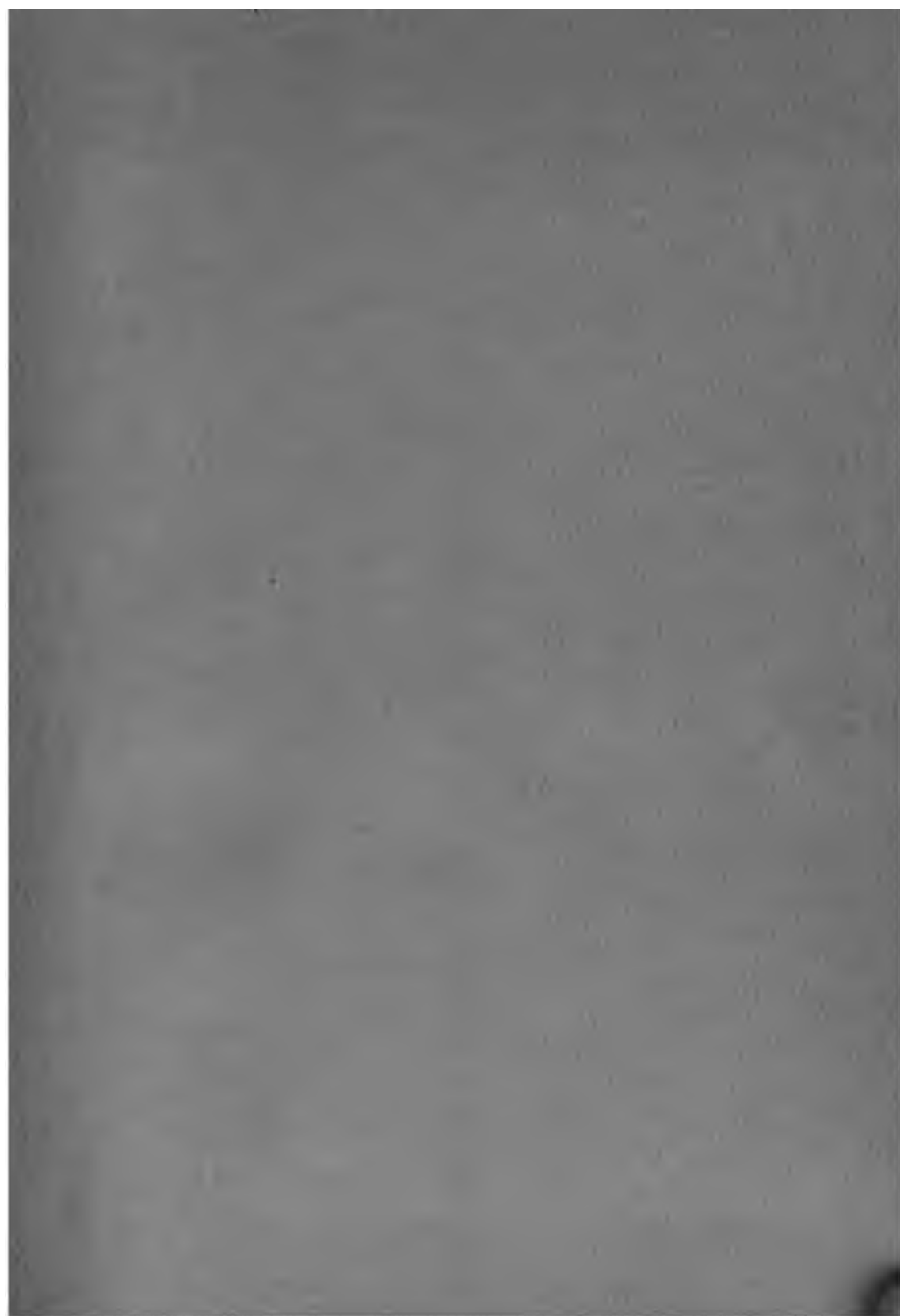
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BOOK-LORE AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

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the public deposits.

2. Whether the management of the institution
is such that the Government can rely upon
it as an agent in carrying into effect the
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well as whether it has been heretofore
a faithful agent in that respect.

3-

4. The propriety of applying to the
establishment of a new Bank - and of
a new Bank, when and in what manner
ought the suggestion to be made of my
views on the subject - and upon what
principles, and under what limitations and
with what privileges ought a new institution
to be formed?



SOME MANUSCRIPTS OF EARLY PRESIDENTS

BY C. H. LINCOLN

DURING the first century of her national existence the United States had eighteen presidents. In addition to this list the executive power was for thirteen years united with the legislative and vested in the Continental Congress. Considering this Congress in the guise of a single person, we may say that the nation had nineteen presidents before 1876. About them, as about the reigning house in a monarchy, has centered an important part of our country's history. Their biographies give a good idea of the progress of the nation.

Not alone for the short period during which the presidents of the United States hold their office is the story of their lives important. Not infrequently the views and actions of our chief executives have been largely determined by early experience, and their friendships dominated by influences entering their lives long before their

election to the presidency. Some, indeed, have made more history out of office than while nominally at the head of the nation. It is most fitting then that the writings of these men should be collected in the City of Washington, where they may be available for use by the historical student. Of how many of our national executives are adequate manuscript records so gathered?

Of the Continental Congress it may be said with little exaggeration that all the manuscript records in existence are in our national archives. As heir of that Congress the Department of State came into possession of the original journals, reports and letters of our government from 1776 to 1789, and these records in 194 volumes—often subdivided for convenience in consultation—remain in that department, or have been transferred to the Library of Congress.

For the period during which the government under the constitution became firmly established—the administrations of Washington, Adams and Jefferson—the collections, though not so exhaustive, are yet excellent. The Department of State and the Library of Congress contain by far the best collection of Washington manuscripts in existence and they can make an almost equally good showing of the papers of Thomas Jefferson. More or less exhaustive calendars of these papers have been published by the government,* and they have thus been made available for the investigator.

The national archives lack for the study of this period the manuscripts of John Adams. Although many of his letters are found in other collections the mass of the papers of our second president are at Quincy, Massachusetts. Here in connection with the papers of other members of the Adams family, more particularly in union with the manuscripts of John Quincy Adams, they form a collection of which Dr. Edward Everett Hale says: "I know of no other in the world where the history of a great nation can be so studied in the biography of one family."

For the period of our international development the government archives furnish ample material for research. Aside from the official papers to be found in the Departments of State,

War and the Navy, these collections include the personal papers of Madison and Monroe, although here, as in the period immediately preceding, the absence of the papers of one President—another member of the Adams family—creates a gap which is deeply to be regretted. Of this group of presidential papers in the possession of the government, calendars have been published forming Bulletins Nos. 2 and 4 of the series issued by the Bureau of Rolls and Library of the Department of State.†

For the study of the lives of our early presidents, great aids are found in printed works as well as in manuscript records. Of the first six presidents of the nation the writings or the memoirs of all have been published. These published works contain a large part of the material which is accessible in the original to the student who will but come to Washington to use it.

Having passed through what may be termed the period of aristocratic leadership in the executive office, we come to the period of democratic control. With the inauguration of Andrew Jackson the nation entered fairly into the field of internal development and the rule of the many. What sources are to be found in our national archives for a study of the influence upon history exercised by Jackson and his successors? Aside from papers of of-

* Bulletin of the Bureau of Rolls and Library of the Department of State No. 3. Arrangement of the Washington papers, Washington, 1894. Nos. 6, 8 and 10, Calendar of the Correspondence of Thomas Jefferson, Washington, 1894, 1895, 1903. Calendar of the Washing-

ton papers in the Library of Congress, Washington, 1901.

† Calendar of the Correspondence of James Monroe, Washington, 1893. Calendar of the Correspondence of James Madison, Washington, 1894.

ficial record contained in official files these sources are to be found, if at all, in the Library of Congress. Here are the manuscripts of Andrew Jackson, Martin Van Buren and James K. Polk. It is to the first named collection that I wish to call particular attention. Alone among our great presidents neither the works nor the memoirs of Jackson have been published. No adequate biography of him has been written. The volume by John Reid and John Henry Eaton, first published in 1817, covers but a portion of his life, and although it is the foundation upon which later biographies have rested, its partisanship is too marked to admit of its acceptance as a final record, even for the period covered. Nor can the volumes of Parton be accepted as a satisfactory life. Interesting they are and hitherto almost indispensable to one who would obtain a true view of Jackson's character, but their value is greatly decreased by the partiality of the author for his hero. It is to the record kept by Jackson himself that the student must turn if he wishes the truth.

The Jackson manuscripts in the Library of Congress were presented by the heirs of Montgomery Blair, and are now being arranged, catalogued and calendared. They consist of about 7,000 distinct manuscripts—letters, reports and military returns—together with thirteen volumes of letter-books and military records. The period covered extends from the close of the eighteenth century to the year of Jackson's death, but the more important part of the collection begins

with 1812. For this and the succeeding three years there are abundant records of Jackson's military operations against the British and the Indians in Mississippi, Florida and Louisiana. In addition to bound volumes of letters and orders there are nearly five hundred distinct manuscripts devoted to the year 1813, and the following years have a yet larger number. As is to be expected a great part of the collection for these years is devoted to military matters and with Jackson's return to civil life the quota for each year lessens. During 1824 and 1825 the number of manuscripts falls to a few over two hundred. There is no decrease in quality, however, to accompany the decrease in quantity. Rather is there an improvement in this regard. A greater proportion of the manuscripts are written by Jackson as contrasted with letters, reports or petitions addressed to him, the percentage of orders and returns decreases, and that of correspondence increases.

In so extensive and varied a collection it is next to impossible to select two or three manuscripts which should serve as adequate types of the whole. On the other hand, a just sense of the value of the papers can be obtained in no other way except by exhaustive analysis. Making no claim that the manuscripts mentioned are more than chance selections, the remainder of this article may well be devoted to a summary of two papers, the first relating to Jackson's early military activity, the second throwing light upon his attitude toward the Bank of the United States.

During the first years of the nineteenth century few questions were more troublesome to the nation than those dealing with Indian affairs. For the Indians the frontiersmen had the most bitter feeling, and this bitterness was aroused to intense resentment during the second war with Great Britain. Jackson was a true representative of the feeling.

On August 30, 1813, the Creek Indians, urged forward by the British, surprised Fort Mims, on the Alabama River, and massacred over five hundred of its inmates—members of its garrison or persons seeking refuge within the fortification. Flushed with excitement the Indians roamed over the surrounding country, driving into panic practically the whole population of Mississippi Territory. Aid was summoned from the neighboring states and Tennessee responded at once. Jackson had command of her forces, and under his energetic leadership the whites seemed able to cope with the situation. In November one victory was obtained and Jackson considered himself on the point of crushing out all resistance; but the success that seemed so near was yet in the distance. Lack of supplies led to discouragement and expiration of terms of service led to desertion and mutiny. To the abandonment of the campaign Jackson was intensely opposed. The story of the whole difficulty is well told in these manuscripts. Letters and petitions from the soldiers present their opinion of the situation; orders to troops in the field and demands upon Governor Blount, of Ten-

nessee, for supplies and reinforcements give Jackson's side of the controversy, and letters from Blount, Major-Gen. Thomas Pinckney and the Secretary of War, show the attitude taken by state and national authorities.

Jackson demanded in no easy language that form and precedent be abandoned if necessary, and that in some manner troops and supplies be furnished him. The more cautious nature of the Governor of Tennessee is shown in many of his letters, and particularly in his letter of December 26, 1813. After urging that he has done his utmost to assist Jackson, the Governor states that all the volunteers and militia which he had authority to raise are or should be already in the United States service. "I was not advised either by the Secretary of War's letter or by the act [of the Tennessee Legislature] how long either description of force was expected to serve. After they were called out they were. . . accepted by the President into the service of the United States, which put the whole force beyond my control." Declaring that he dare not interfere with the national power by setting a date for the discharge of the troops, he adds that some troops from East Tennessee have been dismissed and "had I any control over the term of service, I would say let the whole who had served three months, if they wished it, be discharged." Jackson's opinion of the situation is endorsed on the same letter: "I always believed and still believe that the militia, having been accepted into the service of the United

States by the President, are bound to six months' service, and that no power less than his can grant them a discharge." "If governed by the private opinions which the Governor entertained when they were called into service, in opposition to his official decision now that he admits he has no control over them, I will not oppose them by force if they should abandon the campaign at this time, although it is my duty to tell them that they will thereby expose themselves to risk and must abide all the consequences."

This is not the only manuscript giving Jackson's opinion. In particular there is one letter to Governor Blount expressed in language sufficiently strong to arouse to action a man much less alive to the needs of the situation than was the Governor of Tennessee. In the words of Prof. McMaster, it was such a letter as it has rarely been the lot of any governor to read, and it called not for words or excuses but for immediate action. It is a reply to Blount's letter of December 22, similar in tone to that of December 26, already mentioned, and covers ten closely written folio pages. It is dated half-past twelve in the morning, December 29, 1813. One by one the reasons and excuses given by the Governor for his failure to maintain an adequate force in the field are taken up, examined and thrown down by Jackson. No letter in the whole collection shows more clearly the intense patriotism which pervaded and dominated Jackson's character. Parton has given selections from the manuscript in the first volume of his life of

Jackson, but no extracts can do justice to such a letter as this. Averring his friendship for the Governor, Jackson declares that Blount's reputation, his own, and that of the State of Tennessee, will be irretrievably lost if prompt, vigorous and effective measures be not taken at once to maintain the forces of the State now in the field. The letter produced the required results, and the manuscripts in the collection show how the General used his troops and the thoroughness with which he carried out his campaign.

The second manuscript to which I call attention illustrates another side of Jackson's character. His hostility to the United States Bank is well known. The story of this hostility is narrated in every history of the time, and in the biographies of Calhoun, Clay and other noted men of the period. Nowhere is the position taken by Jackson in withholding from the Bank the government deposits more clearly described than in these manuscripts. Among them is one written by Martin Van Buren in 1833, giving his opinion of the subject. The paper opens with three questions relating (a) to the propriety of renewing the charter of the old bank, (b) the policy of assenting to the establishment of a new bank under a modified charter, and (c) to the possibility of establishing some other system for the disposition of the public moneys received by the government. To these questions Van Buren has appended answers as follows. He declares that the charter of the bank should not be renewed, and that no charter should be granted

any bank authorizing it to do business outside the District of Columbia. He maintains that the right to do such business must be sought by the bank from the several states. No charter of any character should be granted "until a full and fair experiment has been made to carry on the fiscal affairs of the Govt. without a National Bank of any description." In case these views are adopted Van Buren suggests that the funds of the government be distributed through the agency of the State Banks.

A second paper endorsed: "Questions as to a Bank of the United States. Submitted to the Cabinet, March 19, 1833," is substantially a copy of the preceding, and is signed by Jackson. He has however changed the numbering of Van Buren's questions, and has prefaced them with two others in his own hand. These are on a separate slip of paper pasted to the page containing the original questions (see frontispiece). The first question asks "whether anything has occurred to lessen the expression at the commencement of the late session of Congress, as to the safety of the Bank of the United States, so far as regards the public deposits." The second inquires further: "Whether the management of the institution is such that the government can rely upon it as an agent in carrying into effect the fiscal arrangements of the Treasury, as well as whether it has been heretofore a faithful agent in that respect."

These two papers throw light upon the part played by Secretary Van Buren in the overthrow of the United States Bank. In his opinion presented to Jackson are found the same ideas and in some cases a word for word expression of the opinion presented by the latter to his Cabinet. The points added by the President serve to connect the present with the past and bring the future more definitely to the eye, but there is no essential difference between the two papers. The result of the controversy is too well known to require further narration. How the battle ended and how the lines of battle came to be drawn as they were are different questions.

The existence of a relationship between Jackson and his Secretary of State much more intimate than that between the President and the remainder of his Cabinet is seemingly proved by the manuscripts just quoted. Not that Van Buren was the power behind the throne. It is indeed to the Van Buren collection that one must turn to see the great power exercised by a hand behind the throne, in Van Buren's case, the hand of Jackson. With the throne occupied by Jackson no such power was needed. In this case, as in that of the campaign of 1813, the manuscripts in this collection throw a strong light upon the thoughts and methods of Jackson. How much the whole career of that statesman may be illumined by these papers the future alone will determine.

WILLIAM HARRISON AINSWORTH

BY ADRIAN H. JOLINE

NOT long ago I came in possession of a considerable number of autographic relics of William Harrison Ainsworth, including a memorandum book and a manuscript volume containing an account of his travels in Italy in 1830—dedicated to his wife, with a poem; some letters from George Cruikshank to him; thirty-six pages of the draft of his most famous novel, "Jack Sheppard;" and more than two hundred of his own holograph letters. The collection is full of interest to those who retain a recollection of one who in his day enjoyed a wide popularity as a literary man and especially as a novelist.

Critics, reviewers, students of literature, and readers exceptionally well informed, are usually inclined to resent the assertion with respect to any writer once eminent, that he is substantially forgotten. It is safe however to say that if we regard the millions in this country whose literary pabulum is composed chiefly of works of fiction or occasionally of biography and history of the lighter sort, as the reading public of America, the name of Ainsworth is at this day by no means familiar in the United States. There are, of course, many book owners who keep his "Works" upon their shelves and know the backs of the volumes; and some of the omnivorous have doubtless read "Jack Sheppard,"

"Crichton," and perhaps "Rookwood." Yet thousands who are well acquainted with their Scott, their Dickens, and their Thackeray, would be sorely puzzled if they were asked to tell us who Ainsworth was, and exactly when he lived, or to give a synopsis of the plot of a single one of his numerous stories—and he has been dead only a little over twenty years. Nor is the indifference to him limited to general readers or to America. Allibone gives him but fourteen lines of biography, mostly bitter censure, with a few words of qualified praise for such historical tales as "St. Paul's" and "The Tower." Chambers' *Encyclopædia of English Literature* begrudges him twenty-nine lines of depreciative comment, conceding to him dramatic art and power, but denying to him "originality or felicity of humor or character." He is not even mentioned in Mr. Edmund Gosse's *Modern English Literature*, nor does Taine condescend to give his name. Yet there was a time when he was esteemed to be a worthy rival of Charles Dickens, and when in the eyes of the critics and of the public he far outshone Edward Lytton Bulwer.

In a note to the sketch in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Mr. Axon says that "no biography of Ainsworth has appeared or is likely to be published." The fact is correctly

stated, but the prediction may not be fulfilled. A devoted admirer of Ainsworth is now engaged in the preparation of a biography, and he tells me that he has been aided by my autographic collection. I do not give his name, for he probably prefers to make the announcement at his own time and in his own way. The only published records of Ainsworth's life which have come to my knowledge are, a brief memoir by Laman Blanchard, which appeared in the *Mirror* in 1842 and was reproduced in later editions of "Rookwood;" a chapter in Madden's *Life of Lady Blessington*; a sketch by James Crossley contributed to the Routledge edition of the *Ballads* in 1855; an account of him by William Bates, accompanying a semi-caricature portrait in the *Maclise Portrait Gallery*; and the article of Mr. Axon to which I have referred—an article as just and as comprehensive as are most of those which appear in the great *Dictionary*.

II.

Ainsworth was born in Manchester on February 4th, 1805. His family was "respectable" in the English sense, for his grandfather on his mother's side was a clergyman and his father a prosperous solicitor. It was from the mother that he inherited in 1842 some "landed property," to use another distinctively English phrase, and it is amusing to observe the pride of Madden when he boasts that Ainsworth's name appears in *Burke's Landed Gentry*. He attended the Free Grammar School in

Manchester, where it is said that he was proficient in Latin and Greek, and as he was expected to succeed to his father's practice, he became an articled clerk in the office of Mr. Alexander Kay, at the age of sixteen. He was a handsome boy, full of ambition, but his ambition did not lead him in the dull and dusty paths which solicitors tread. He had already written a drama, for private production, which was printed in *Arliss's Magazine*, and a number of sketches, translations and minor papers for a serial called "The Manchester Iris," and he subsequently conducted a periodical styled "The Boeotian," which had a short existence of six numbers. Before he was nineteen he was a regular contributor to the "London Magazine" and the "Edinburgh Magazine." Some of these youthful efforts were afterwards collected in "December Tales" (1823) which contained also papers written by others; the "Works of Cheviot Tichbourne" (London, 1822, Manchester, 1823); and "A Summer Evening Tale (1825); The "Tichbourne" book of verses (the name is spelled in divers ways by the several authorities) was dedicated to Lamb. The author was a devoted admirer of Elia, and as early as 1822 Lamb had lent him a copy of Cyril Tourneur's play or plays, and on May 7, 1822, Lamb wrote to him referring to the book and saying, among other things, "I have read your poetry with pleasure. The tales are pretty and prettily told. It is only sometimes a little careless, I mean as to redundancy." The letter mentions the proposed

dedication deprecatingly and modestly.*

Talfourd, Canon Ainger and Fitzgerald in their collections give two other letters, written respectively on December 9 and December 29, 1823, one thanking Ainsworth for "books and compliments," and the other giving Lamb-like excuses for not leaving beloved London to pay a visit to Manchester.† It was something of an honor for a lad of seventeen to receive the praise of Charles Lamb, who appears to have discovered one of his young correspondent's besetting sins—redundancy. But it may not have meant much, for in those days they exchanged compliments more profusely than is customary at the present time.

All these excursions in the field of authorship were fatal to the grave study of the law, for which he had no taste, and although when his father died in 1824 he went to London to finish his term with Mr. Jacob Phillips of the Inner Temple, it was a foregone conclusion that, whatever his career might be, it would not be that of a solicitor. About 1826, one John Ebers, a publisher in Bond Street and also manager of the Opera House, brought out a novel called "Sir John Chiverton," which received the favor of Sir Walter Scott, who said of it in his diary (October 17, 1826) that he had read it with interest, and that it was "a clever book," at the same time as-

serting that he himself was the originator of the style in which it was written. For many years it was supposed that Ainsworth was its sole author, but it was claimed later by Mr. John Partington Aston, a lawyer, who had been a fellow-clerk of Ainsworth's in Mr. Kay's office, and the book was probably the result of collaboration. The dedicatory verses are supposed to have been addressed to Anne Frances Ebers, John Ebers' daughter, whom Ainsworth married on October 11, 1826. Soon after he seems to have been occupied in editing one of those absurd "Annuals" so common in those days, for we find Tom Moore recording in his journal in 1827, that he had been asked to edit the "Forget-Me-Not," to begin with the second number, "as the present editor is Mr. Ainsworth (I think), the son-in-law of Ebers." The compensation offered to Moore was £500, which indicates that such work was paid for liberally, but it is not likely that Ainsworth received as much. A year or so after the marriage—within a year in fact—he followed his father-in-law's advice and became himself a publisher and a book-seller; but at the end of eighteen months he decided to abandon the business.

If we may judge by one of these letters in my collection, it is not surprising that he was not overwhelmingly successful. He writes to Thomas Hill for a notice in the *Chronicle* of a book the copyright of which he had recently purchased, adding, "the work is really a most scientific one—indeed the only distinct treatise on Confectionery

* This letter seems to have been first printed by William Carew Hazlitt in *The Lambs* (London, 1897), pp. 195-196.

† See Temple Bar Edition, iii, 51-52.

extant." Perhaps this was the work of Ude, the cook, whose publisher he was; but he also "brought out" Lady Caroline Norton as an author, of whom he writes to Charles Ollier, in his graceful, rather lady-like chirography:

"Is it not possible [to] get me a short notice of the enclosed into the new Monthly? By so doing you will infinitely oblige one of the most beautiful women in the world—the Hon. Mrs. Norton, the grand-daughter of Richard Brinsley Sheridan."

It was for an annual issued by him that Sir Walter Scott wrote the "Bonnets of Bonnie Dundee," and the story is told by Mr. Axon that Sir Walter received twenty guineas for it, but laughingly handed them over to the little daughter of Lockhart, at whose house he and Ainsworth met. He wrote some fragmentary and miscellaneous prose and verse, not of much importance, and in 1830 he set out for Italy. The manuscript note books which lie before me, the paper foxed and the ink faded, comprise a diary of the Italian part of the journey. I have toiled over the one hundred and sixty-eight pages, not always easily decipherable, but have found little which exceeds in value the ordinary guide-book of our own time. It was, we must remember, written only for his wife—whom he considerably left at home—and the dedicatory poem to her, consisting of fifty-eight unrhymed lines, written in Venice in September, 1830, is quite as commonplace as might be expected from a man of twenty-five, with little poetic inspira-

tion but endowed with much verbal fluency, who was not writing for publication.

III.

Soon after his return from the Continent, Ainsworth began the work from which he was to derive his chief title to fame—the composing of novels. It has been said that he was inspired by Mrs. Radcliffe whose gloomy mysteries, weird scenes, and supernatural machinery once made her a favorite with fiction-lovers, and that he sought to adapt old legends to English soil. Others have ascribed his impulse to the influence of the French dramatic romancers, Eugène Sue, Victor Hugo, and Alexandre Dumas. I question whether he owed his inspiration to any particular source, although all these writers may have affected his temperament. He perhaps unconsciously divined the needs of the reading public, of which his editorial experience may have taught him much. The inane fashionable novel had palled upon them. Moreover, it was a time, in the early thirties, when the nation of England was absorbed in the growth of her material prosperity, and when a country is engrossed in commerce and manufactures, in the production of wealth, tales of adventure seem necessary to stimulate flagging imagination. We have seen the evidence of it in our own land during the past ten years, when casting aside the metaphysical, the psychological, the long drawn-out analyses of character, the public eagerly devoured story after story of fights, and wars, and dar-

ing deeds—whose lucky authors bore off rewards of fabulous amount and grew rich upon the royalties earned by their hundreds of thousands of copies.

Begun in 1831, Ainsworth's "Rookwood" was published in 1834. It has been generally considered by critics to be a powerful but uneven story, but it leaped at once into popularity, carrying with it the youthful author. The "Romany Chant" and "Dick Turpin's Ride to York" were the chief features; but the Ride was the thing, like the chariot race in *Ben-Hur*. It was actually dashed off in the glow of enthusiasm, the white heat of imagination. It was, says George Augustus Sala, "a piece of word painting rarely if ever surpassed in the prose of the Victorian Era,"* and he said this sixty years after the novel appeared. Ainsworth has told us the circumstances. "I wrote it" he said "in twenty-four hours of continuous work. I had previously arranged the meeting at Kilburn Wells, and the death of Tom King—a work of some little time—but from the moment I got Turpin on the high road, I wrote on and on till I landed him at York. I performed this literary feat, as you are pleased to call it, without the slightest sense of effort. I began in the morning, wrote all day, and as night wore on, my subject had completely mastered me, and I had no power to leave Turpin on the high road. I was swept away by the curious excitement and novelty of the situation; and being personally a good horseman, passionately fond of horses, and possessed

moreover of accurate knowledge of a great part of the country, I was thoroughly at home with my work, and galloped on with my pet highwayman merrily enough. I must, however, confess that when my work was in proof, I went over the ground between London and York to verify the distances and localities, and was not a little surprised at my accuracy." This *tour de force*—the composition of a hundred novel-pages in so short a time, was performed at "The Elms," a house at Kilburn where he was then living. It brings to mind the familiar story of Beckford, writing *Vathek* in French, in a single sitting of three days and two nights, which is more or less apochryphal.

It is a proof of the merit and of the success of this chapter that, like many other successful literary efforts, it was "claimed" by some one else. Mr. Bates refers rather indignantly to an assertion of R. Shelton Mackenzie, made upon the authority of Dr. Kenealy, and contained in the fifth volume of an American edition of the *Noctes Ambrosianae*, that Doctor William Maginn, of convivial fame, wrote the "Ride" as well as all the slang songs in "Rookwood." But Maginn was seldom sober and doubtless he bragged in his cups. Kenealy believed in Arthur Orton, the Tichborne "claimant," and was capable of believing in any claimant, particularly if he was an Irishman; while Mackenzie was not celebrated for acumen or accuracy. Sala says of the absurd tale: "As to the truth or falsehood of this allegation I am wholly incompetent to pro-

*Sala's *Life and Adventures* (1896) 83.

nounce; but looking at Ainsworth's striking and powerful pictures of the Plague and the Fire in his 'Old St. Paul's,' and the numerous studies of Tudor life in his 'Tower of London,' I should say that 'Turpin's Ride to York' was a performance altogether within the compass of his capacity."

In the light of later years, it is interesting to observe the comparisons made between Bulwer and Ainsworth. In *Fraser's Magazine* for June, 1834, there is a review of "Rookwood" in which the author is praised far beyond the writer of *Eugene Aram* and *Paul Clifford*. Bulwer, according to Sala, was fated "to be beaten on his own ground by another writer of fiction very much his inferior in genius; but who was nevertheless endowed with a considerable amount of melodramatic power, and who had acquired a conspicuous facility for dramatic description." It may be that the defeat drove Bulwer to those other fields in which he won the reputation which has preserved his name while that of his conqueror of seventy years ago has faded almost into oblivion.

Ainsworth was now a conspicuous man, and his celebrity as an author, combined with his many personal attractions, made him a welcome guest at many houses, notably at Gore House, where Lady Blessington so long held sway—"jolly old girl," he calls her in one of my letters, written in 1836. The beauty was as fascinating as ever at forty-seven. "Everybody goes to Lady Blessington's," said Haydon in his *Diary*. The effervescent Sala tells of meeting Ains-

worth there. "I think" he says "that on the evening in question there were present, among others, Daniel Maclise, the painter, and Ainsworth, the novelist. The author of "Jack Sheppard" was then a young man of about thirty, very handsome, but somewhat of the curled and oiled and glossy whiskered D'Orsay type." The D'Orsay type was by no means distasteful to my lady. Sala relates at second-hand the anecdote about Lady Blessington's placing herself between D'Orsay and Ainsworth, and saying that she had for supporters the two handsomest men in London.

In 1837 "Crichton" was published, the hero being James Crichton, the "Admirable," about whose name has grown so much that is fabulous, but who was nevertheless a real person. The book was fairly successful, and while it did not add materially to Ainsworth's fame, it did not diminish it. It was well done, and the author, as usual spared no pains and was careful in his researches. In his introductory essay and in the appendices, which Sidney Lee pronounces "very interesting," he reprinted with translations in verse, Crichton's Elegy on Borromeo and the eulogy on Visconti. Madden intimates that D'Orsay occasionally figured as the model of the accomplished hero. The author received £350 for the book—more than for "Rookwood." He had become a figure in the literary world, and his name was something with which to conjure. He was a favorite contributor to *Fraser's Magazine*, and his portrait appears among "The

Fraserians," indeed a goodly company.

IV.

In January, 1837, Richard Bentley commenced the publication of *Bentley's Miscellany*, under the editorship of Charles Dickens. There is a familiar story that the name originally proposed was "The Wit's Miscellany," and that when the change was mentioned in the presence of "Ingoldsby" Barham (not Douglas Jerrold, as often supposed), he remarked "Why go to the other extreme?" In January, 1839, Dickens turned over the office of editor to Ainsworth with "a familiar epistle from a parent to his child,* which, in view of the fact that Ainsworth was seven years his senior, was quite condescending. *Oliver Twist* had just been the feature of the *Miscellany*, and now Ainsworth made his second and most celebrated venture in what Sala calls "felonious fiction"—the immortal "Jack Sheppard."

There are some conflicting statements about dates. Madden says, in one place, "In 1841 he [Ainsworth] became the editor of 'Bentley's Miscellany,'" and on the next page, "In the spring of 1839 he replaced Dickens in the editorship of 'Bentley's Miscellany,' and continued as editor till 1841."† He also says that in 1839 the novel, to be called "Thames Darrell," was advertised to appear periodically in the *Miscellany*, then edited by Charles Dickens.‡ Robert Harri-

son in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (title Bentley) says that Dickens retired from the post of editor in January, 1839. Mr. Axon tells us in the *Dictionary* that Ainsworth became the editor in March, 1840. Forster puts the date 1839, which seems to be correct, and the discrepancies are no doubt susceptible of explanation.

The success of "Rookwood" and of *Oliver Twist* led to the new essay in the series which the sanctimonious Allibone says might be very appropriately published under the title of the "Tyburn Plutarch"—not a very sane or witty remark in my opinion. Ainsworth cast over the scamp Jack Sheppard the mantle of romance, and made him "a dashing young blood of illicitly noble descent, who dressed sumptuously and lived luxuriously"—whose escapes from Newgate and other adventures were described with a charm and vigor which took the public captive. The sale exceeded even that of *Oliver Twist*, and no fewer than eight versions were produced upon the London stage. Mr. Keeley achieved great notoriety as the hero, and Paul Bedford first made his mark in the character of Blueskin.

It was not until these dramatic productions appeared that the sedate and fastidious began the outcry against the so-called criminal school of romance—an outcry perpetuated in Chambers' *Encyclopædia* and in Allibone's *Dictionary*. The author and the novel were bitterly attacked. The main ground of denunciation seems to have been the belief that the lower

* Forster's Dickens, i. 141.

† Life of Lady Blessington, iii. 226, 227.

‡ Life of Lady Blessington, iii, 224.

orders might be aroused to emulate the brilliant robber, all of which is sheer nonsense. I am tempted to quote at length from a letter of Miss Mitford, the personification of an old maid, because it contains an epitome of the adverse criticism as well as a little biographical note which I have not encountered elsewhere.

"I have been reading 'Jack Sheppard,'" she writes to Miss Barrett,* "and have been struck by the great danger in these times, of representing authorities so constantly and fearfully in the wrong; so tyrannous, so devilish, as the author has been pleased to portray it in 'Jack Sheppard,' for he does not seem so much a man or even an incarnate fiend, as a representation of power—government or law, call it as you may—the ruling power. [This may have some meaning to somebody, but I own it has no rational meaning to me.] Of course, Mr. Ainsworth had no such design, but such is the effect; and as the millions who see it represented at the minor theatres will not distinguish between now and a hundred years back, all the Chartists in the land are less dangerous than this nightmare of a book, and I, Radical as I am, lament any additional temptations to outbreak, with all its train of horrors. Seriously, what things these are—the Jack Sheppards, and Squeers's, and Oliver Twists, and Michael Armstrongs—all the worse for the power which, except the last, the others contain! Grievously the worse! My

*January 3, 1840: Letters, Am. Edition, 1870, ii. p. 218.

friend Mr. Hughes speaks well of Mr. Ainsworth. His father was a collector of these old robber stories, and used to repeat the local ballads upon Turpin etc. to his son as he sat upon his knee; and this has perhaps been at the bottom of the matter. A good antiquarian I believe him to be, but what a use to make of the picturesque old knowledge! Well, one comfort is that it will wear itself out; and then it will be cast aside like an old fashion."

The latter part of the prophecy has come very near to fulfilment but we have no proof that the awful novel caused any marked increase of crime. The real utility and value of stories like "Jack Sheppard" may well be questioned, for they surely do not belong to the highest and best in literature, but that any one became a thief or a burglar because of them is yet to be demonstrated.

In 1840 Ainsworth and George Cruikshank brought out the "Tower of London," in monthly numbers and were equal partners in the enterprise. It has always been regarded as a work of merit. In 1841 the author received £1,000 from the *Sunday Times* for "Old St. Paul's," and it was later one of Cruikshank's grievances that he was not associated in this production, the idea of which he insisted was his own. Among my letters is one written by Cruikshank to Ainsworth on the subject, which has not, as far as I know, been published, and I give it because it reveals the relations of the two men quite distinctly.

"Amwell St., March 4, 1841.

MY DEAR AINSWORTH:—

Mr. Pettigrew called here yesterday and stated your proposition. Had that proposal been made any time between last December up to about a fortnight back I should have been happy, *most* happy, to have accepted the offer—but now I am sorry to say, but I cannot—no, I have so far committed myself with various parties that if I were to withdraw my projected publication I am sure that I should be a laughing stock to some and what is worse—I fear that with others I should lose all title to honor or integrity. I do assure you, my dear Ainsworth, I sincerely regret—that I cannot join you in this work, but what was I to think—what conclusion was I to come to but that you had *cut* me. At the latter end of last year you announced that we were preparing a "new work!" in the early part of December last. I saw by an advertisement that your "new work" was to be published in the "Sunday Times." You do not come to me or send for me nor send me any explanations. I meet you at Dickens's on "New Year's Eve." You tell me then that you will see me in a few days and explain everything to my satisfaction. I hear nothing from you. In your various notes about the "Guy Fawkes" you do even advert to the subject. I purposely keep myself disengaged refusing many advantageous offers of work—still I hear nothing from you. At length (*sic*) you announce a New Work as a *companion to the "Tower"*! without my name. I then conclude that you do not intend to join *me* in any "New Work" and therefore determine to do something for myself—*indeed I could hold out no longer*—to show that others besides myself considered that you had left me, I was applied to by Chapman & Hall to join with them and Mr. Dickens in a spec-

ulation which indeed I promised to do should the one with Mr. Felt be abandoned. However I have still to hope that when you are disengaged from Mr. Bentley that some arrangements may be made which may tend to our material profit—

I remain, my dear Ainsworth, yours very truly.

GEO. CRUIKSHANK."

In 1841, Ainsworth published the "Guy Fawkes" mentioned in Cruikshank's letter. About this time he seems to have become involved in disagreements with Bentley. On June 22, 1841, he wrote to Ollier:

"I am scarcely surprised to learn from you that Mr. Bentley states that I promised Mr. Barham to write two separate stories for the November and December numbers of the Miscellany, because it is only one of those misstatements to which that gentleman, in all the negotiations I have had with him, has invariably had recourse. Nothing of the sort was either expressed or implied, and I cannot believe Mr. Barham made any such statement, because it is entirely foreign to the spirit of the whole arrangement. I will thank you however to give Mr. Bentley distinctly to understand that I will not write any such story or stories, and that if he does not think fit to enter into the proposed arrangement, I shall adhere to the original agreement and finish *Guy Fawkes* in February next. I beg you will also give him to understand that I will not allow Mr. Leech or any other artist than Mr. Cruikshank to illustrate any portion of the work; and that I insist upon a clause to that

effect being inserted in the mem. of agreement."

The remark about Cruikshank is significant when read in connection with the artist's letter of three months before, and with his subsequent conduct. For although it is clear that the trouble about the publication of "St. Paul's" had been healed, through the efforts of Mr. Pettigrew, he rehashed the old grievance thirty years later.

A rupture with Bentley was imminent, and it came very soon. Ainsworth left the Miscellany and in February, 1842, the first number of "Ainsworth's Magazine" made its appearance. It was continued until 1853 when it was absorbed in the "New

Monthly Magazine," acquired from Colburn, of which serial Ainsworth had been for a short time in 1836, an editor. At first he was both editor and proprietor, but later he sold the magazine to his publishers — another grievance of Cruikshank. For it he wrote "The Miser's Daughter," a work of considerable power, which was long years afterward dramatized by Andrew Halliday and produced at the Adelphi Theatre. In 1843 followed "Windsor Castle," an historical romance with the scene laid in the reign of Henry VIII.; and in 1844 his active pen busied itself with another story of the same class, "St. James's, or the Court of Queen Anne."

[*To be concluded.*]

MY TORTOISE-SHELL PAPER-KNIFE FROM CAPRI

BY ARTHUR UPSON

As prompt as are the summoned wings
Of falcons, and as sure, it brings
The game of far-spied arrows near;
A flash, and lo, what gifts appear
From the remotest clime and age
There on the newly-opened page!

Yet this keen servant that retrieves
The quarry of unopened leaves
Once crawled upon a summer strand,
Slow laboring up the streaming sand,
And hoped no further than to give
Roof to an old conservative
Who, had he dreamt, had scorned to dwell
Beneath so frivolous a shell:—

A pin to stay a beauty's hair,
A plectrum for her lover's air
Soft-played on languorous mandolin,
These from the house he dwelt within,
And this my paper-knife which knows
Already half man's joys and woes.

To-night upon more genial shore
It quivers to a deeper roar
Of old, mysterious seas of thought
Where the broad sands I tread are wrought
With record lines which wave on wave,
Through long-recurring moons, engrave.

The stupid tortoise who would ask
No brisker duty than to bask
Beneath his tropic by the sea
Yields up, at length, some industry :
Among my caves his bright shell goes
To rescue duodecimos,
Full many a sweet and royal one,
From that dread beast Oblivion,
The keen and ever-trusty blade
Tearing them from a hungry shade.

Cold lips by thee released to speech,
Thou blithe Knife-Errant of the beach,
Their inmost secret breathe to me
Which lived, not written down, must be.





PONKAPOG PAPERS. By Thomas Bailey Aldrich. Boston and New York. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., MDCCCIII.

Some "Leaves from a Note Book," a handful of "Asides," and a paper on Robert Herrick gather in this little book to give the reader quiet enjoyment and food for pleasant thoughts. Most of the essays are brief, a few pages telling the idea that flashed through the writer's mind and was seemingly committed to paper without more ado—*seemingly*, we say, because we find a Leaf in the Author's Note Book, whereon he has written "Simplicity is art's last word."

This note book, Mr. Aldrich explains, is a "blotted memorandum-book" in which are "a score or two of suggestions for essays, sketches, and poems; which I have not written, and never shall write. The instant I jot down an idea the desire to utilize it leaves me, and I turn away to do something unpremeditated." While one fancies how charmingly Mr. Aldrich would develop some of the themes that make the note book itself so attractive, one knows too that the "something unpremeditated" will

bear the same charm, which abides in the author, whatever his subject. His humor is of a fine, gentle sort that is yet thoroughly American in its whimsicality. He raises the standard of American humor so much that one feels grateful to the man who can be delightfully funny without bringing down the average in the way that seems necessary to Ade, Irwin, and the man that does the Buster Brown pictures.

In his note book Mr. Aldrich has himself some remarks to make on this subject. "American humor is nearly as ephemeral as the flowers that bloom in the spring. Each generation has its own crop, and, as a rule, insists on cultivating a new kind. . . . Humor is a delicate shrub, with the passing hectic flush of its time. . . . Mark Twain's humor is not to be classed with the fragile plants; it has a serious root, striking deep down into rich earth, and I think it will go on flowering indefinitely."

Mr. Aldrich's humor plays freely about his own profession, and lightens the field whereon are cultivated books and bookmen. He refers to "Shake-

speare, who has done so much to discourage literature by anticipating everybody." He writes, "Wordsworth's characterization of the woman in one of his poems as a 'creature not too bright or good for human nature's daily food' has always appeared to me too cannibalesque to be poetical. It directly sets one to thinking of the South Sea islanders." He tells the story of himself, "a very young, unfledged author," calling on a famous editor and publisher, and finding himself and his poem alone in the sanctum with an open memorandum book before his eye. To a list of memory hints, such as "Don't forget to see the binder," "Don't forget H——'s proofs," he added another, "Don't forget to accept A——'s poem," dropped his manuscript and fled. When the publisher found the item, "his sense of humor was so strong that he did accept the poem (it required a strong sense of humor to do that), and sent the lad a check for it, though the verses remain to this day unprinted. That kindly publisher was wise as well as kind." That the sense of humor evinced by "the unfledged" has developed properly is shown by the fact that the arrived author tells the story complete "to this day." It required a strong sense of humor to do that.

The "Asides" are pertinent and brief expressions of opinion on many subjects, mostly of literary interest. "Tom Folio," a book-loving recluse and disciple of Elia, "a cheerful, lonely man," becomes alive through his description. He "was not a collector—

that means dividends and bank balances—" Mr. Aldrich explains, but anything rare and old and precious "gave him delight in the handling, though he might not aspire to ownership." The pseudonym of "Tom Folio" which he signed to various pleasant and rambling essays of his own, was the only name by which the writer ever knew the little book-lover.

A little fling at "The Autograph Hunter" may be read by the genuine collector without qualms, since "the average autograph hunter, with his purposeless insistence"—"the innumerable unknown who 'collect' autographs as they would collect postage stamps, with no interest in the matter beyond the desire to accumulate as many as possible"—have little kinship with even the sort to whose plea the writer declares that no author is insensible, "assuming the request to come from some sincere lover of books and bookmen." As even this sort of collecting is sternly decried by the autograph collector's advocate, "A. H. J.," none but the third rate collector can fail to take the author's part in such a case as Mr. Aldrich cites, where a fellow-author was besought by a bereaved widow and mother to copy for her some lines from his poem on the death of a child, to comfort her for the loss of her little girl. Relating the incident later, he wrote, "I am unable to this day to decide whether I was wholly hurt or wholly amused when, two months afterward, I stumbled over my manuscript, with a neat price attached to it, in a second-hand book-shop."

The essay on Robert Herrick with which the book closes is of greater length and depth—of sufficient dimensions to give one a review of what little is known of the poet's life and doings, and an insight into the spirit of his poesy. "A great little poet," he is called, known but by one volume, *Hesperides*, which he did not publish till he was nearly sixty. He took his mission as a poet less seriously than most men that can rhyme, but with a calm confidence in his ultimate acceptance by the world that enabled him to say:

"Let others to the printing presse run fast;
Since after death comes glory, I'll not haste."

In fact it was over a century and a half before England awoke to an appreciation of the man of whom Mr. Aldrich declares "There is no English poet so thoroughly English as Herrick. He painted the country life of his own time as no other has painted it at any time."

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES on One Hundred Books Famous in English Literature. Compiled by Henry W. Kent. N. Y., Grolier Club, 1903.

All who were interested in the publication by the Grolier Club in 1902 of a volume entitled *One Hundred Books Famous in English Literature with Facsimiles of their Title-pages* are glad to learn of a second or supplementary volume to that work.

It will be remembered that the *One Hundred Books* consisted of facsimiles of title-pages of one hundred of the principal works in the English language, with an introduction by Prof. George E. Woodberry. There was

some criticism at the time upon the fact that, in a few cases, first editions were not used, but the preface of the new volume explains that in these cases the first editions were either not obtainable, or, for some reason, were not desirable,—that copies of the first editions of Tottell's *Miscellany* and Lyly's *Euphues* are unique, and therefore cannot be obtained, and that the second edition of *A Myrrour for Magistrates* contains the first issue of the "Induction," by the Earl of Dorset, making it the desirable copy to show.

The present volume is entitled *Bibliographical Notes on One Hundred Books Famous in English Literature*, and is compiled by Henry W. Kent, who says, in his Preface, that after the publication of the *One Hundred Books* the works themselves were gathered from the collections of members of the Club, for an exhibition at the Club-house, where, "arranged side by side, every volume open at its title-page, the individuality of each of these well-known works was brought out strikingly: taken collectively, they illustrated clearly and interestingly the development of the Book in England. Members of the Club were thus led to suggest the publication of a second or supplementary volume, which should give the bibliographical facts connected with each book, and which should indicate, briefly, something of this development."

This is what the compiler has endeavored to do, and the result is a volume more entertaining would seem to be implied by the title, where the

word "bibliographical" must be understood in its broadest sense.

The "Notes" consist of accounts of the publication of each book, its success or failure, notices of the publishers, printers and illustrators, with their relations to the author, and the remarks upon peculiarities of editions, issues, or volumes.

What is unusual in a bibliographical work is the fact that the human interest is kept uppermost, though not at the expense of the more technical side, and we find ourselves following, with deep interest, the doubts and fears of the authors, and the gains or losses of the long succession of worthy printers.

While the English of these sketches is simple and almost conversational, the matter shows much painstaking research, a large portion of the information being gained from original sources.

At the close of the Notes on each work is a brief collation, books before the eighteenth century being collated by signature, while of the books published after 1800, paginations are given. Works of more than two volumes are not collated in detail.

That a work of this kind should contain slight inconsistencies in matters of collation is much to be regretted, as is the fact that the addition of a page of "Corrigenda" has been necessary. The errors which appear, however, are not such as detract from the accuracy of the Notes themselves, and the work, from its unique character, must prove to be an addition of considerable value to bibliographical literature.

Like other publications of the Grolier Club, *Bibliographical Notes* is a fine specimen of book-making. It is printed at the De Vinne Press, the edition consisting of three hundred and five copies on hand-made paper, with the Grolier Club water mark, and three copies on vellum.

The following extracts serve as a fair sample of the work, and embody an interesting fact which Mr. Kent has discovered in connection with the well-known map in Hakluyt's Voyages. In speaking of the first volume, which appeared in 1589, Mr. Kent says:

"It contains also 'one of the best generall mappes of the world onely, untill the coming out of a very large and most exact terrestrial Globe, collected and reformed according to the newest, secretest, and latest discoveries . . . composed by M. Emmerie Mollineux of Lampeth, a rare gentleman in his profession . . . ' This map was a close copy of one engraved by Francis Hogenberg for Ortelius's 'Theatrum Orbis Terrarum' published first in Antwerp in 1570." Of the third volume Mr. Kent says: "a new, engraved map of the world, unsigned and without a title, is found in some copies of the third volume. It was also used in two states . . .

"A curious error has existed with regard to the map. The reference in the 1589 volume, already quoted, has been taken to mean that Hakluyt intended to issue a map by Molineux with that work, but, that map not being ready in time, he used the one from Ortelius. What more natural

than that the new map in the 1598 edition should be supposed to be Molyneux's, now at length finished? This was the conclusion jumped at, and the plate is usually called Molyneux's map. As a matter of fact Hakluyt did not refer to Molyneux as a map-maker, but as a globe-maker. He was a friend of that rare gentleman, and he knew that the mathematician was at work on a large terrestrial globe embodying all the very latest geographical information in the most exact way, according to Mercator's projection. He used the Ortelius map in his book only until the globe should be ready, when it could be easily adapted to the plane surface of a map by the engraver.

"The globe, measuring two and a half feet in diameter, was issued in 1592, and is now preserved in the Library of the Middle Temple."

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1903. Washington, 1903.

The report of the Librarian of Congress has always a decided interest for those who are concerned in the advancement of literary culture in the United States. Mr. Putnam's policy is consistently to enlarge the usefulness of the Library, and make its contents available to more students and scholars and to the general public. For this reason, the book-loving public is constantly more interested in the National Library.

The growth of the Library during the year of 1902-3 was aided by a number of important gifts, such as

Miss Susan B. Anthony's entire library of the literature of woman's suffrage, the slavery question, and temperance; and the official and personal correspondence and other manuscripts of Andrew Jackson, given by the children of Montgomery Blair. The Library has also purchased about 2,500 pieces of manuscript connected with Webster, including correspondence that continues the period of the Jackson papers; twelve volumes of the correspondence of Commodore Preble and valuable material relating to the Navy; and a collection of records of early Virginia relating to the Jamestown region from 1649 to 1774.

The reading room for the blind has also received fifty-three volumes in raised type, and those who had other than books to give have given freely here; for 163 volunteer readers and 147 musicians assisted in the two hundred entertainments offered to the blind of the District of Columbia last year.

A full list of the manuscripts received during the year forms an appendix; and a Select List of Recent Purchases, with full descriptions and contents, occupies 238 pages. Another appendix gives a discussion of plans for binding the advertisements of serials, in a paper prepared by Arthur R. Kimball.

The last third of the volume consists of "a special report on the copyright legislation now in force in the United States, prepared with a view to bringing out the discrepancies in the texts of these various statutes and the contradictory provisions con-

tained in them which result . . . in frequent misunderstandings as to the nature and scope of the protection afforded by copyright." The report is compiled by Thorwald Solberg, Register of Copyrights.

The present copyright laws are a growth with many excrescences, and need pruning sadly. "The subject ought to be dealt with as a whole, and not by mere partial or temporizing amendments. The acts now in force should be replaced by one consistent statute, of simple and direct phraseology, of broad and liberal principles, and framed fully to protect the rights of all literary and artistic producers and to guard the interests

of other classes affected by copyright legislation."

Let us by all means make the lives of our particular Congressmen uncomfortable until they give us proper laws. In the meantime, those who depend on the present laws for protection will find that Mr. Solberg's table of the revised statutes now governing copyrights, with parallel annotations and a good index, will aid them materially in applying the laws to their own needs. An appendix contains a Bibliographical List of Foreign Copyright Laws in Force; and the report is a concise summary of existing legislation that is of decided value to authors and publishers.



LEADING ARTICLES A CAVALIER'S LIBRARY.

In the April *Library*, H. R. Plomer has a charming account of a seventeenth century bibliophile, Edward, Second Viscount Conway. The inventory of his library has come down to us with those of eight or nine others which were confiscated during the Civil War by the Committee for Sequestrations. Among the correspondence and documents of the State Paper Office Mr. Plomer has found much scattered information concerning Viscount Conway and his love of books, and by bringing them together has added a very living figure to our list of old time bibliophiles. He was often in the public service, often with the army, but never forgetful of his books. His letters constantly give instructions for the purchase and binding of more books. When in 1643 because of his Royalist activities his books were

confiscated by the State, the hastily written inventory showed six thousand volumes. The collection was richest in foreign literature, the classics, history, military science, heraldry and architecture, but rather lacking in English works. The valuation placed on it, probably by some bookseller called in to list it, was absurdly low—two hundred pounds. The Viscount was disheartened by this and other losses and soon after deserted the royalist cause, and in 1644, by paying a fine of twenty pounds, he was allowed by Parliament to take possession again of his books, except a few that seem to have been sold or stolen. He settled with his library at Petworth in Sussex, where he spent the rest of his life corresponding often with fellow book-lovers and enjoying his books, till his death, probably in 1655. His letters show him to have been a real student, a discriminating reader, and a charming gentleman.

A SUBJECT-INDEX TO EARLY PRINTED BOOKS.

A paper on Some Points in Practical Bibliography, read by Archibald L. Clark, Librarian of the Royal Medical and Chirurgical Society, at the December meeting of the Library Association, is reprinted in full in the Library Association Record for April. It is a discussion of the question: What have English workers at bibliography done to advance a knowledge of the contents of early printed books? Agreeing with a previous writer, Mr. Clark contends that the "material description of early printed books overshadows the importance of their contents; that there is enough and more than enough remaining to be done in the way of enumeration, collation and description of fifteenth century books only, to keep English bibliographers busy on the special path or paths they have chosen, for a very long time to come." Nevertheless, the contents of early printed books should not be neglected, nor have they been in the past. As example, the writer has compiled from the letter A in Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica* (vol. iii, Subjects) those entries referring to fifteenth-century books, and the list is surprisingly long. Analyzing the list he finds that fifteenth-century books were mostly: reproductions in print of classical poets, historians and philosophers; works of the schoolmen on theology, history, moral philosophy, natural knowledge, travels and medicine, geometry and geography; commentaries on the writers in the classical ages and early centuries of the Christian era; and encyclopædic works in great number. Under the heading of Aristotle alone are entered thirteen commentaries. The historic description of these is of vastly more interest than any account of their subject matter. "The first idea, it seems to me, is to get at the history of those commentaries, how they came to be written, where they were printed, and why they were printed in those particular places, how many more there are that are not in Watt's list, and what probability there is of finding others that have not been discovered."

"Now before the thought of any such work as a complete subject-bibliography (and to be of permanent value it must be complete) can be entertained, it is obvious that the whole—the complete whole—of early printed books must be recorded. Until that work is over, bibliographers who have chosen that path are justified in pursuing their present course—the material rather than the intellectual side." But granting that the subject side has its proportionate importance, suggestions are given that such English librarians as can spare time from more important pursuits and can command the necessary bibliographical tools, combine in the way that American librarians combine in the compilation of Poole's Index, to produce the nucleus

of a subject index, which shall be enlarged till all early printed books have been recorded and are included.

EARLY GERMAN-AMERICAN IMPRINTS.

Researches in the First Century of German Printing in America (1728-1830), by the Rev. A. Stapleton, is contributed to the *Pennsylvania-German* in continuation of Prof. Oswald Seidensticker's work, *The First Century of German Printing in America*, now more than ten years old and confessedly incomplete.

"Our own researches, made mostly in the rural districts of Pennsylvania, have clearly demonstrated to our satisfaction that the early Germans of Pennsylvania far exceeded the English in the number, variety and excellence of their literary productions in comparison with their ratio of the population.

"They were the first to print the Bible in the New World in a European language (Sower, 1743), anticipating the English about forty years. They were the first to print Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* (1754) and many similar religious works. Dock's work on teaching (1770) was the first work on that subject. Some of their publications involved a vast expense. Thus the great 'Martyr Book,' published at Ephrata in 1748 occupied the labor of fifteen persons for a period of four years. It is a monster folio of near 1,500 pages. The Germans, too, were the first to print the Bible west of the Allegheny Mountains (Somerset, 1813). The Germans were the first anti-slavery agitators in America, and their publications on that subject were among the first."

To Seidensticker's list of forty-seven towns in America where German printing was done prior to 1830, Mr. Stapleton adds three more in Pennsylvania—Hellertown, Sunbury and Wilkes-Barre. The list of publications not recorded by Seidensticker occupies seven pages, and the compiler says the subject is by no means exhausted. The whole paper is of interest to the collector of early American imprints.

LITERATURE FOR THE BLIND.

Under this title the April number of *Public Libraries* brings together reports from all over the United States, of the reading matter provided by libraries and other agencies for the use of the blind. A paper by Miss Susan A. Draper, of the Illinois School for the Blind, describes the four systems of embossed alphabets which are used in printing for the blind. Of these the Braille type is the most generally used. The American Printing House for the Blind, at Louisville, Ky., has an annual subsidy of \$10,000 from the government, and distributes books and music in raised type to the schools for the blind, in proportion to the number of pupils. It is also able to sell the books at lower rates than would otherwise be possible,

but the publications are still bulky and costly. It takes three large volumes, costing \$10.50, for *Ivanhoe*; the same for *A Tale of Two Cities*. *Ben Hur*, in four volumes, costs twelve dollars, *Heroes and Hero Worship*, seven. The blind in rural districts are most isolated, the cost of mailing the large volumes being prohibitive to the free circulating library idea. Special postal arrangements ought to be made for this class of mail matter. In any part of Canada, literature for the blind can be sent through the mails entirely free of charge. Dwellers in American cities may now easily get access to at least a limited amount of literature. The Chicago Public Library has 669 volumes in raised type available for circulation. The Cincinnati Library Society for the Blind has eight hundred volumes, and gives readings for the blind five days of each week at the Public Library and monthly entertainments, free transportation being given by the street railway companies. At Dayton, Ohio, weekly readings from books and current periodicals are given at the library. Detroit has a small library for circulation, so has Lynn, Mass. The New York Public Library has absorbed the Free Circulating Library for the Blind, and reports 2577 volumes of which good use is made. The new library building will have a special reading room for the blind, with readings and entertainments. The New York State Library uses the New York point system in which it publishes popular books for its own use and that of other libraries. It circulates books throughout the State, and through private generosity pays expressage on all books sent. It wants the names of all blind persons in the State, and also needs the coöperation of persons who will bring information of the library to the blind of their neighborhoods, and will assist them in learning to read, etc.

The Free Public Library of Philadelphia has 2600 volumes, the majority in Moon type. San Francisco has 203 volumes, and daily readings at the library with discussions of the things read, which are eagerly taken part in by the blind. The District of Columbia is a most fortunate place of residence for the blind, the pavilion set apart for them at the Library of Congress being the center for daily gatherings with a reader, weekly volunteer entertainments by the best literary people visiting the city, musical concerts, tea parties, free transportation, and free delivery of books. A special fund gives occupation to some of the blind in copying into New York point books which have not been published in raised type. The Library is also an information bureau for the blind all over the country.

Several periodicals for the blind, religious and secular, are printed in raised type; and through the Bible societies any blind person may have the use of a raised type copy of the

Bible for the term of his life, it being returned to the Society at death, to be sent to the next applicant.

NAPOLEON v. WELLINGTON.

In the April *Connoisseur*, Harold Macfarlane makes a comparison of the values of relics of the two great generals, Wellington and Napoleon. Napoleon relics, in spite of the care with which they have been gathered into museums, appear at auction much more frequently, and are at the same time much more in demand than those of his English conqueror.

There has been much fluctuation in values. An entire suit of Wellington clothes and boots brought only £6.16.6 at auction in 1900. Napoleonic wearing apparel seems very scarce. "For some considerable time past a lock of Wellington's hair has fetched a sovereign or thereabouts, and the market has exhibited far fewer fluctuations than consols. . . . With regard to the Napoleonic hirsute adornment, however, prices of late have shown a terrible falling off." An authentic lock with accompanying letter sold to Lord Sheffield, six or seven years ago, for £30. In 1900 another lock was sold at Sotheby's for £20.10, but the very next year a third lock in a gold locket brought only £5.

An ordinary Wellington autograph brings about thirteen shillings, but letters and dispatches of importance greatly exceed that sum. Thirteen of his letters to Maj.-Gen. Mackenzie brought £20.6 in 1900. A letter to Marshall Beresford concerning "Bony" after Waterloo sold for £21 in 1899, while a series to the same general, relating to the Peninsular War, brought £177.10.6 in 1901. The British Museum paid six hundred guineas for 247 letters and dispatches to General Hill. Napoleon's letters have seldom appeared in the market, but Wellington's may still be bought at prices that should allow large profits in future years when the collecting tide turns in favor of the conqueror.

POE'S RICHMOND.

Mrs. Susan Archer Talley Weiss, who is now a lady of over seventy, was a girl of seventeen when Edgar Allan Poe was a visitor at Richmond in 1849, and has related to Charles Marshall Graves some incidents of the poet's different sojourns in that city. "Poe loved Richmond as he loved no other place on earth. His happy childhood was spent there—the only period of his troubled life which was free from want." There his mother died, and his foster-parents, the Allans, gave him a happy childhood. Mrs. Sarah Shelton, his staunch friend, lived there, and it was there he married young Virginia Clemm. These reminiscences of Mrs. Weiss and other old Richmond friends are given in the April *Century*, with several portraits not

before published, and pen sketches made by Harry Fenn from old photographs and prints of Richmond houses connected with Poe's life there.

SIR LESLIE STEPHEN.

The death of Sir Leslie Stephen calls forth expressions in the magazines of the great respect in which he was held by his fellow workers. In the *Cornhill Magazine* for April, Frederic Harrison gives some reminiscences of the relations of Stephen to the *Cornhill*.

"Stephen's connection with *The Cornhill Magazine*, with its editorial work, and with the late Mr. George Smith and his publishing house, was very long and very close. For some seventeen years (1866-1883) he was a constant writer in these pages. For eleven years (1871-1882) he was Editor. He married the daughter of the first editor, W. M. Thackeray . . . When Mr. George Smith decided to publish the great undertaking known as the 'Dictionary of National Biography', Stephen retired from the *Cornhill* to become the editor of the Dictionary."

Stephen's pieces in the *Cornhill* varied widely in scope, beginning with one on "American Humour." His long series of critical studies of the eighteenth century began in 1868, and "Hours in a Library" in 1872. "Altogether I reckon that Stephen contributed to *The Cornhill Magazine*, from 1866 to 1883 inclusive, forty articles on general subjects, apart from the critical and biographical studies collected in two published works." "He did for the eighteenth century almost as much as Carlyle did for Cromwell and for Goethe . . . He was the apostle of the eighteenth century, saturated with its intellectual clarity and its contempt of fanaticism and enthusiasm, and sharing in its limitations and its prosaic ideals." Mr. Harrison places him finally as "the standard authority upon one of the most fruitful epochs of English letters."

THE BUG BIBLE AND OTHERS.

"So thou shalt not need to be afraid for any bugges by night." This is the way in which the comforting assurance "Thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night," in the ninety-first Psalm, was made to read in the Vulgate printed in Rome in 1500 by order of Sixtus V, who corrected each proof himself and was greatly chagrined when after its appearance so many errors were found that the edition had to be suppressed. This explains the great rarity of the Bug Bible. Rodney Blake, in the *April Reader*, tell the distinguishing error of this, the Breeches Bible, the Treacle Bible, the Judas Bible, the Vinegar Bible, and various other editions of the Scriptures which have been spoiled by some small misprint that sometimes so change the sense of a verse that the whole

edition must be retired. The paper is of a popular but not of a bibliographical nature.

TOTTIEL'S MISCELLANY.

This small quarto volume of "Songes and Sonettes, written by the ryght honorable Lorde Henry Haward, late Earle of Surrey, and other," published by Richard Tottell in 1557, is considered the first output of the great Elizabethan age of poetry, and a careful study of its production is of value. W. W. Greg contributes to *The Library* for April a description of the extant copies of the 1557 editions of the Miscellany, which show remarkable variations. The British Museum possesses a unique copy whose colophon bears the date "the fift day of Iune, An. 1557," which was probably the first edition. "The only point we can be sure of in connection with the production of this June edition, is that within fifty-six days of the date mentioned in the Colophon, the whole edition had been worked off, the type distributed, the need for a further edition became apparent, that edition prepared, composed and made ready for press. This second edition has the Colophon dated "the XXXI. day of Iuly, An. 1557." It has many changes and additional poems, and an index, and is the model for all reprints made in the next thirty years. But its chief peculiarity is that no two copies collate precisely alike, and there are two distinct title pages and colophons. The inference is a remarkable one. Owing doubtless to some trades union rule for the benefit of compositors where large editions were planned—such as the ordinance of the Stationers' Company that not more than 1,250 copies should be printed from one setting of type—this entire book was undoubtedly set twice at the same time, the printers working either side by side, or the first one marking with red chalk the page and sheet divisions to be followed by the second. The pages coincide, but the division into lines, and the spelling and punctuation, differ continually. Mr. Greg gives the title pages and colophons of these editions, and samples of the two for comparison. He follows this by careful descriptions and collations of the first eight editions.

WESTERN BOOK-PLATES.

In the *April Craftsman* is an article on The Book-Plate Idea, by C. Valentine Kirby, with a number of unusually good designs all made by Western designers for Western people. There is an interesting variety of themes and methods, all quite above the average in taste. The armorial plate finds a few adherents, though the writer himself does not find the heraldic idea in harmony with the genuine Western democracy and simplicity. The pictorial plate seems to be more appropriate to the individualism of to-day. The larger number of examples are Mr. Kirby's own designs, and the article treats largely of his own methods.

MAGAZINES

BURLINGTON MAGAZINE.

Two interesting collections are described in the April number—The Rembrandt etchings of Dutuill collection, and Mr. J. S. Forbes's collection of drawings made by Millet as preparatory studies to his great paintings. Several studies of the Gleaners are reproduced, showing the development of the idea in the artist's mind.

A Collection of Powdered Blue Chinese Porcelain in the possession of Sir William Bennett is described, with some very fine colored plates.

Lionel Cust writes of H. R. H. Prince Albert as an Art Collector. The collection of paintings formed by the Prince has been recently removed from Osbourne to Buckingham Palace, and the extent and lasting value of his admirable selections are becoming known for the first time.

BULLETIN OF THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY.

A document by George Hibbard on the Yazou Purchase, 1802, is reprinted from the original manuscript in the Ford collection. The legislature of Georgia had sold to the Georgia Company, Tennessee Company, etc., Western territory which the next legislature found had been disposed of through corruption and fraud, and annulled the sale. This is a statement of the claim of the companies against the State.

Miss Hasse continues her list of books relating to political rights, constitutions and constitutional law, giving those works relating to the constitutions of the States.

CONNOISSEUR.

Beside an article on Napoleon and Wellington relics noted elsewhere, there is the first of a series of articles by E. T. Sachs, on The Real Lowestoft. This is calculated as a guide to the collector who is usually disturbed by conflicting theories of the genuineness of much of the so-called Lowestoft in the market.

D. C. Calthrop presents a number of early paintings by Botticelli, Piero di Cosimo, and Filippino Lippi, all portraying the beauties of La Bella Simonetta, fairest maid of Florence in the fifteenth century, who was an inspiration to all the artists of her day and place.

LIBRARY.

Beside the two leading articles of which we have already spoken, the April issue contains a

second paper on Robert Proctor's Work, by Alfred W. Pollard.

G. F. Barwick translates some interesting notes on *The Vicar of Wakefield*, which were printed in the first French edition of 1767. These are comments on the characteristics of the English people and customs.

An address On the Duties and Qualifications of a Librarian, delivered at the Sorbonne on 23 December, 1780, by J. B. Cotton Des Houssayes, is translated by F. J. Peplow, from the edition of twenty-five copies printed at Paris in 1781.

NEW SHAKESPEAREANA.

A paper by R. L. Ashhurst on the play of Two Gentlemen of Verona, makes a study of its close relationship to other Shakespearean plays, notably to Romeo and Juliet, and Twelfth Night. The date of the probable production of the play, and the sources which inspired it are also discussed.

A long folding plate of a portion of Henley Street, Stratford-on-Avon, shows what changes are being made or are contemplated for the protection of the Birthplace from fire and the erection of a new free library. Burch's China Shop, once belonging to Shakespeare's cousin, and the two cottages next are being demolished to make room for the library, it being the idea to incorporate into the new building the ancient timbers of the china shop. Several interior views of this are given, one of the proposed new library, and one of a corner of the Birthplace, showing the nearby malt houses that seem to threaten its safety more than the cottages which are being destroyed. The accompanying text supports Miss Corelli in her partly effectual crusade against the local authorities for the preservation of old Henley Street.

STRAND.

With a paper on Old Ballads are reproduced the title pages of some of the ballads crudely written and worse printed, that were popular in England for nearly a century. They were embellished with the worst of woodcuts, some of which were really designed to illustrate the accompanying ballad, as in the song on "The Grand London Railway," which had a crude steam engine at its head; but some of the old woodcuts descended through generations of ballads, and did duty as illustrations of the most diverse subjects that it fell to the printer to put into type.



Some Blake plates that were sold in London in February—five from *Europe* which fetched £80, and one from *Visions*, sold for £29—have joined the identical colored copies of these works from which they had long been separated. These copies, with others of Blake's works, were bequeathed by Isaac D'Israeli to the Earl of Beaconsfield. The present owner, an English collector, purchased them at the Beaconsfield sale in 1882, the *Europe* for £85, lacking frontispiece, title and five plates; *Visions*, minus the last plate, for £34. The rise in Blake values is well shown by the prices he has had to pay for the plates now found to be precisely those missing from his copies. The newly found plates had been cut down about two inches, and bound up with other Blake plates in a cloth case.

Svenska Bibliotek och Ex-Libris, by C. M. Carlander, has been issued at Stockholm in six handsome volumes, with many illustrations, and full-page plates in colors and gold. This is the second and much enlarged edition, the first having been issued in three volumes in 1891-4. The work describes all the principal libraries of Sweden, public, royal, and private, with bibliographical and historical details, and sketches of famous owners and founders, and other bibliophiles. The latter half is taken up with an exhaustive chronological catalogue of Swedish book-plates from the earliest times. There are accounts of the principal designers and engravers of book-plates, and a very full index. The illustrations include hundreds of book-plates, many fine portraits of Swedish bibliophiles, and pictures of libraries. The subjects of Swedish libraries, bibliophiles and book-plates are covered with encyclopædic thoroughness.

The Burrows Brothers have added to their Indian Captivity series two interesting volumes. One is a reprint of *A Narrative of the Captivity of Nehemiah How*, which was printed in pamphlet form in Boston, 1748, and is now very rare. Victor Hugo Paltsits supplies an introduction. The other records the *Capture, Detention and Ransom of Charles Johnston, who*

was made Prisoner by the Indians on the River Ohio, in the Year 1790. This is edited by Professor E. A. Sparks, from the original edition of 1827.

An exhibition of Welsh Bibles has been held at Cardiff, commemorating the centenary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, when 349 copies of the whole or portions of the Scriptures in the Gaelic language were shown, dating from the middle of the sixteenth century down to 1900. This was a unique exhibition, of which an extended bibliography is to be published.

A volume on *Chippendale Book-Plates*, English and American, is about to be issued in England, from the pen of Mr. James Dorman, an authority on the special class of plates.

The *Hempstead Annual* for 1903 is concerned, as are all of the admirable series, with reminiscences of famous men and their connection with the neighborhood. The leading paper is on "George Crabbe in Hempstead," by Canon Ainger, who has recently published his biography of Crabbe. Dr. Richard Garnett contributes an article on William Blake, who used to visit the engraver Linnell at Hampstead Heath, and presents some unpublished letters from Blake, now in the British Museum, in which the poet-artist writes of his designs and methods.

Paul Elder & Co. of San Francisco, have had printed at their Tomoyé Press a series of compilations, on Happiness, Friendship, Success, and Nature, happily put together by Paul Elder, and made into attractively printed booklets in heavy paper covers, with envelopes of the same paper. The format is pleasing and the booklet harmonious and original. Another recent issue is Wallace Irwin's *Fairy Tales Up To Now*, which is bound with appropriate absurdity in a piece of genuine matrix such as is used in the process of electrotyping the daily paper. The binding becomes a means of education from which the lay reader may learn much

more about the processes of newspaper manufacture than he is likely otherwise to find out.

Of more serious interest is *Consolatio*, a memorial ode by Raymond MacDonald Alden, of Stanford University, which shows genuine talent. This forms one of the characteristic Tomoyé booklets, printed in red and black and decorated with a pleasing willow design.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has reprinted from its Proceedings, 1903, a paper on *Early Wisconsin Imprints*, a Preliminary Essay by Henry Eduard Legler. The first job of printing done in Wisconsin, some time between 1826 and 1831, was a bundle of lottery tickets, printed from some stray type without the aid of a press; the second press, a rude, wooden, home-made box set on a stump, began existence by printing an indignation meeting broadside in 1836; while the same year saw the production, at a third press, of the first booklet printed in the State—A Catalogue of Plants and Shells found in the Vicinity of Milwaukee. Mr. Legler's sketch of the early presses is illustrated with facsimiles of the title-pages of this booklet, the first novel, first newspaper (1833) and the first volume of verse printed in Wisconsin; a cut of the first printing office (at Green Bay, 1833), and the picture of an early press that did pioneer service in half a dozen towns and is now the property of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

A chronology of printing in Wisconsin from 1830 to 1902 is given, and a ten-page bibliog-

raphy of the fifty four imprints (omitting State official journals, laws and reports) known from 1836 to 1850. Mr. Legler's industry should be emulated by the local bibliographers of other states.

At the King's Library of the British Museum is being held a Shakespeareana exhibition that is admirably arranged. One case contains the Shakespeare deed of 1613, an Ireland forgery, The Mannington Diary describing the production of *Twelfth Night*, February 2, 1602; and some contemporary maps. Another contains all the contemporary notices of Shakespeare, another the sources of his plays, the last some seventeenth and eighteenth century adaptations.

The Royal Historical Society of London is planning the publication of a scientific bibliography of British history from 1458 to 1901. The details of the undertaking were set forth in a recent address of Dr. G. W. Prothero, President of the Society. The bibliography will begin at the point at which Charles Gross's bibliography of mediæval England ended.

A check list of the public documents of the State of Iowa has been compiled by Miss Lavinia Steele under the auspices of the Iowa Library Commission. The list is very full and well arranged, with an index of names and subjects, and will materially lighten the labors of the local historian.



THE LAND OF POWHATAN.

SPRINGFIELD, Mass.

Gentlemen:

Can you give me any information as to the authorship or probable value of an 18mo, 120-page volume entitled *The Land of Powhatan; by a Virginian*. Published by Fielding Lucas, Jr., at Baltimore, 1821 (J. Robinson, printer). A reply in *THE LITERARY COLLECTOR* will be thankfully received.

W. J. M.

[The catalogue of the Carter Brown collection leaves this unanswered, and the book does not seem to be by either of the men (Robert Tyler and William Caruthers) who have used

"The Virginian" as a pseudonym; nor can we trace it in any of the many catalogues and bibliographies at our command. Can any subscriber give the information desired?—Editor.]

FRANKLIN'S MEMOIRS.

Dear Sir—Can you tell me the value of the following? Franklin, Benjamin. *Memoirs of . . . with his most interesting essays, letters and miscellaneous writings, etc.* 2v, 16mo. N. Y., Harper, 1839. They were purchased from a second-hand store, and inside front cover is written "Value \$50.00." The donor

told me the letters in vol. 2 were rare, which accounted for the value.

E. F. H., Mobile, Ala.

These volumes belong to Harper's Household Library, and we are unable to find that there is any particular value attached to them.

OUR FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS.

The routine of the publisher's mail is often varied by letters, domestic or foreign, of more than ordinary wit or witlessness. One or two recent epistles have been quite too good to keep.

The first one is dated from Honolulu:

Dear Sir:—I read some of your books, long ago; and they were as sweet as an apple to me; and I like to read it; and I guess, I'll have another one from you.

It is a monthly magazine, it's for man or woman. You probably will not find a popular new novel mentioned in it.

So; will you please send one of them down to me; and I'll receive it; then the next day; I'll send the money up to you. I'm a very honest Man.

Will you please address it to me; on the envelope; this way.

MANUEL P. B.
Punchbowl St., T. H.

This was received and responded to some months ago. Our bookkeeper tells us that the honest Man's account for one number of the Literary Collector is still open on our books.

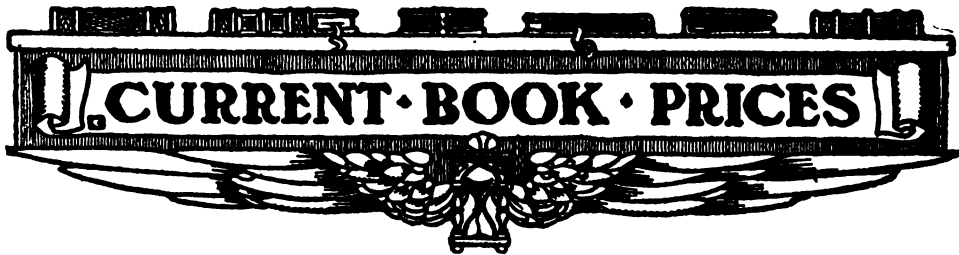
The second man solved the financial question differently:

No. —, HIGASHIGOKENCHO,
USHIGOMEKU, TOKYO, JAPAN.

Sirs,—Enclosing, here, six picture-cards bearing Japanese decoration, instead of remitting the postal order for 3 months of "*The Literary Collector*," which, I believe certainly cost 25 cent or ABOVE if you take trouble to exchange it with any fancy card-collector. It being trouble to remit the postal order of such a trifle sum, I must beg your generosity to allow me and to send your magazines as specimen on trial to the above-mentioned address.

Expecting earnestly,
I am,
H. UCHIDA.

We have not yet found a fancy-card-collector who wished to exchange 25 cents OR ABOVE for the half-dozen gay postals which accompanied this letter, but it would take much more to make us part with them.



Adams, John. A. l. s. concerning position as Vice-President. 3 p. N. Y., Sept. 14, 1789. L, A 27. 23.00
A'Kempis, Thomas. De Imitatione Christi. First ed. Aug. Vend. 1471. So, A 18. £90
Bacon, Francis. Manuscript of "An Opinion," signed. So, A 5. £59
Bodenham. England's Helicon. First ed. Lond., 1600. So, A 18. £80
Bradford, Alden. History of Massachusetts. 3 vols, with 454 fine prints, full mor. Bost., 1822, '25, '29. L, A 6. 129.00
Bradford, William. A bill against Her Majesty's Custom House for 1703-4. 2 p. in autograph, signed twice. L, A 26. 17.50
Broadside Proclamation Printed Feb. 27, 1721. L, A 26. 10.00

Bryant, W. C. Autograph MS. poem On the Late Eclipse. 32 lines, written at the age of 12. Earliest known poem. Dated Cunningham, Nov. 24, 1806. L, A 26. 42.50

Bunyan, John. The original Warrant committing Bunyan to Bedford Gaol, signed by 13 Justices, March 15, 1674. So, A 18. £305

Burns, Robert. Autograph MS. of The Whistle; a Ballad, 18 verses on four 4to pages, of which the last contains "The Prose Story of the Whistle." Accompanied by an A. l. s. to Duke of Queensberry, dated Ellisland, Sept. 24, 1791. So, A 155

Original Burgess ticket presented to Burns by the Borough of Dumfries on June 4, 1787. So, A. £55

Abbreviations: A—Anderson Co.; L—Libble; So—Sotheby; A—April.

- Chapman. *Monsieur d'Olive*. First ed. 1606. So, A 23. £20
 Al Fooles. 1605. So, A 23. £84
 Coleridge, S. T. A. l. s. on proposed translation of Faust. 3 p, 1820. A, A 19. 34.00
 Cooke. *Greene's Tu Quoque*. Lond., 1614. So, A 18. £96
 Danforth, Thomas. Petition "In behalf of the printers and owners of the press, who complain that Capt. Daniel Gookin & Mr. Mitchell would allow no printing. . ." 1 p, 4to, signed by Danforth and Edward Rawson. L, A 27. 16.50
 Day. *Law Tricks*. 1608. So, A 18. £85
 Dekker. *The Whore of Babylon*. Lond., 1607. So, A 18. £120
 Dekker and Webster. *Westward Hoe!* Lond., 1607. So, A 18. £77
 Dickens, Charles. Proof sheets of "Martin Chuzzlewit." 8 p. with autograph corrections. So, A 5. £21
 Drake's Life and Correspondence of Henry Knox, maj.-gen. in Revolutionary Army, extended to 2 vols. with 230 prints, full tooled morocco. Bost., 1873. L, A 6. 170.00
 Elzevir Imprint. *Patissier François*, Amsterdam, 1655. So, A 22. £50
 Force, Peter. Tracts and other papers relating to America to the year 1776. 4 vols, with 112 extra prints. Out of print. Reprinted, Wash., 1836. L, A 6. 80.00
 Fuller, Margaret. A. l. s. to Thoreau, severely criticising his essay, *The Service*. L, A 27. 16.00
 Greeley, Horace. A. l. s. to Thoreau, about publishing his letter in the Tribune. 2 p, 4to, dated New York, May 25, 1848. L, A 27. 12.00
 Hancock, John. Letter to "Dorothy Q" about purchases of shoes, gowns, etc., for her. L, A 27. 14.50
 Harvey, Peter. Daniel Webster, extended to 4 vols. by insertion of 600 prints. L, A 6. 208.00
 Hawthorne, Nathaniel. A. l. s. to Thoreau, inviting him to lecture before the Salem Lyceum. Dated Salem, Oct. 21, 1848. L, A 27. 42.00
 A. l. s. to J. T. Fields inviting him to deliver a poem before the Salem Lyceum. Dated Salem, Nov. 4, 1848. L, A 26. 20.00
 A. l. s. to E. P. Whipple on the subject of a lecture before the Salem Lyceum, signed as corresponding secretary. L, A 26. 18.00
 Heywood, Thomas. *The Silver Age*. Lond., 1613. So, A 20. £140
 Love's *Maistresse*. Uncut, 1636. So, A 20. £86
 Holmes, O. W. Autograph MS., signed, of *Astræa*, the Balance of the Illusions; a Poem delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa, of Yale College, Aug. 14, 1850. 32 p, 4to, half-mor, with etched port. by Schoff. L, A 27. 111.00
 Hubbard's Indian Wars. With original Wine Hills map and 24 extra ports. and 15 views. Lond., 1677. L, A 6. 60.00
 Hubley, Bernard. History of the American Revolution. With 2 rare Washington ports. inserted. Large uncut copy. Northumberland, Pa., 1805. L, A 6. 70.00
 Hunter, Robert, Colonial Governor of N. Y. A. l. s, 2 p. 1710. L, A 27. 15.00
 Hutchinson's Massachusetts. Ed. 3 extended to 6 vols. by 378 extra prints. L, A 6. 186.00
 Impartial History of the War with America. Uncut, with rare ports. inserted. Lond., 1780. L, A 6. 105.00
 Irving, Washington. A. l. s. 3 p. 1837. L, A 27. 10.00
 A. l. s. to Com. Bainbridge. 2 p. 1814. L, A 27. 12.00
 Jackson, Andrew. A. l. s., 4 p. 1832. L, A 27. 20.00
 A. l. s. on duelling. 3 p. folio, 1826. L, A 27. 11.00
 Jefferson, Thomas. A. l. s., 1 p, 4to. L, A 27. 10.50
 A. l. s. to Cornplanter, Seneca chief. L, A 27. 16.00
 Jonson, Ben. Entertainment of King James. 1604. So, A 19. £116
 Chloridia, A Masque. 1630. So, A 19. £145
 Jones, John Paul. D. S., ½ p, 4to, 1777. L, A 27. 31.00
 Keats, John. Autograph letter to William Haslam, 2 p. signed, dated Wentworth Place, Nov. 2, 1819. A, A 19. 67.50
 A. l. s. to Miss Reynolds, Little Hampton, 2 p. 1817. A, A 19. 65.00
 A. l. s. dated Winchester, Oct. 25, 1819. So, A 5. £26
 Kelmescott Press. Chaucer's Works. 1896. So, A. £41
 Morris's Earthly Paradise. 1897. £9
 Lamb, Charles. A. l. s. to Ollier, offering a friend's Chinese jests for publication. 1 p, n. d. A, A 19. 51.00
 A. l. s. to Ollier, asking for copies of his Works to give away. n. d. A, A 19. 36.00
 Prince Dorus, 1818. So, A 22. £22
 Lincoln, Abraham. D. s. with rare full signature "Abraham." 1865. L, A 27. 15.00
 A. l. s., 1 p. 1860. 18.00
 A. d. s., 1 p, 1864. 20.00
 Longfellow, H. W. MS. of poem, *The Children's Hour*. L, A 27. 57.50
 A. l. s. to Lowell, with autograph poem, *She Came and Went*. Dated Elmwood, March 4, 1871. L, A 27. 25.00
 A. l. s., 2 p. dated 1878. L, A 27. 4.00
 Autograph MS. signed, *The Law of Human Progress*; an oration before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Union College, New York, July 25, 1848. 96 p, 4to, in half morocco, with 2 ports. and humorous note. L, A 27. 31.00

- Longus. *Daphnis et Chloe*. Printed on vellum, plates in two states. bd. by Bozerian. Par. 1787. So, A 22. £500
- Lowell, J. R. Autograph poem. Hakon's Lay. 2 p. folio. A, A 19. 31.00
- Luther, Martin. Luther's Bible, containing his autograph. Wittenberg, 1541. So, A 20. £34
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It is a genuine piece of Russian history of arms and is uninfluenced by the personal predilection which attaches to some private collections brought together with great enthusiasm and a sentimentality for the romantic, with more or less knowledge of the question at issue.

Pollak, L., *Klassisch-antike Goldschmiedarbeiten im Besitze Sr. Excellenz A. J. von Nelidow, Kaiserlich Russischen Botschafters in Rom (now at Paris)*. With 20 plates in gold, silver and colours and 38 vignettes and illustrations in the text. Leipzig, Karl W. Hiersemann, 1902. Hf. bound. 80.—

200 numbered copies only reserved for sale.*

This fine collection of specimens of ancient goldsmith's work, for its richness of the highest importance to the history of ancient art, was founded by the owner during his stay as Russian Ambassador in Constantinople. Later on, while living in the same character in Rome, he continued increasing the number of his treasures on every occasion.

Most of the specimens were found in Greece and in the European Turkey, whilst a smaller portion comes from Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, Cyprus, Crete and (only a few pieces) from South Russia. Having intentionally restricted himself to these territories, the owner has given to his collection a particular position from which result a good deal of new and interesting details.

The genius of Greek art, so admirable in sculpture and architecture, becomes no less manifest in the works of these old masters, whose names have not been transmitted to posterity, but whose praise is proclaimed by their artistic work.

Our publication will be welcomed not only by the large circle of students taking an interest in the history of ancient art, but also by lovers of art and by all practisers to whom it presents a fund of new ideas and good models hitherto not yet published.

Ptolemaeus, Cl. *Ptolemaei Alexandrini li | ber geographiae cum tabulis et | vniversali*

figura et cum ad | ditione locorum quae a | recentioribus reper | ta sunt diligenti | cura ementa | tus et im | pressus. (In fine:) *Venetis per Jacobum Bentium de lencho | Anno d. 1511. Die XX | mensis Martii.* With 28 maps, fol., half calf. M. 425.—

Rare edition of Ptolemaeus, 62 fol. text printed in red and black with wood-cuts and 28 maps on 30 sheets, on which the names have been entered later in red and black types. Especially interesting is the last map, a chart of the world, on which for the first time parts of the Continent of North America are recorded: Labrador (*terra laboratorum*) and Corte Real (*regalis domus*) discovered in 1500 by the Portuguese sailor, Cortereal, are recorded as islands. Of the other parts of America are named: *Terra Cube, Ispaniarum insula*, and *Terra sanctae crucis* (South America). The northern part of South America is called: *Canibalus roman*.

Bisson. *Records of the Bisson Family.* Manuscript of 28 pages on stout ivory-card-board, containing 6 fine paintings, the other pages filled with coat-of-arms and calligraphic writing of the finest style, richly elaborated in colours and gold. This folio volume is bound in carved oak, the front-side with the richly ornamented coat-of-arms, the back with the carved initials of the family. The carving is protected by solid brass-knobs and the sides framed with brass. Two cramps close the brass-framing. Back of oak-coloured calf, stamped. The lining of the sides consists of purple velvet, bordered by blue calf with finest tooling in gold; the opposite leaves of red moire. Christmas, 1873. In a substantial black morocco box stuffed with violet moire. Evidently no amount of care and money was spared to make the volume an acceptable gift to the son of Frederick Shirley de Carteret Bisson who signed it on the second leaf. 850.—

As mentioned in the book itself the volume was designed, compiled and superintended by J. Bertrand, Payen-Payne, D. C. L., F. R. S. L., R. G. S., Author of the "Armorial of Jersey."

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GOSPEL HERALD.

VOL. IV. No. 10.]

VOREE, Wis., THURSDAY, MAY 24, 1849.

[WHOLE No. 128.]

GOSPEL HERALD.

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED WEEKLY, FOR THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER DAY SAINTS.

TERMS:

TWO DOLLARS PER ANNUM, PAYABLE, INVARIABLY, IN ADVANCE. All letters and communications must be directed to JAMES J. STRANG, post paid, or they will not be taken from the post office.

EXISTENCE OF GOD.

MR. BURGESS TO MR. STRANG.—No. 8.

Racine, May 7th, 1849.

MR. JAMES J. STRANG:—In reply to your third review of my third letter, par. 205, I still think weighing the hog proves the testimony true or false; for if "testimony proved the fact," why do we demonstrate by weighing?

185. You ask, par. 206, "whence originated this principle in weights, this standard to which all weights must conform?" You say the authority established it. But what established the authority? Is not the authority derived from the people by their delegates? In despotism authority may be usurped by force. Among the superstitious a pretended revelation might suffice. But with a free and enlightened people, authority must be the expression of their will. Succeeding generations may recognize the same standard, till they discover a better. But the authority will still be founded on their agreement. You speak of "authority" as the opinion of some great officer, and yet you tell me there is a natural impossibility in making an issue between testimony and authority. Why, they are so frequently in opposition, that I should be puzzled to know whether they agree or differ most.

186. You say, par. 207, you know of no greater knave than he who thinks nobody honest, wise or true but himself. For once we agree. You continue, "and gives precedence to the common thief over the learned professions." I spoke of the "quacks," not the "learned," and should prefer your correspondence with less plagiarism. To return the compliment, if Mr. Strang prefers the company of "quacks" and plagiarists, I do not.

187. In reply to par. 209, when you can show a proposition which is self-evident or evident in itself, but not evident to yourself, or myself, or some other self, I shall be glad to learn the distinction. And when you can show anything which is perceptible to the eye and not to the mind, I will certainly own beat. Such distinctions quite overpower my comprehension.

188. You ask, "what is it to prove by demonstration, but to demonstrate by proof?" Par. 211. If you are really sincere when you say, "you confess yourself annoyed by such nonsense," why do you say testimony proves the fact? which is but saying that testimony testifies the fact. Our own nonsense does not seem so troublesome to us as that of others, probably from being more used to it, or in blissful ignorance of it.

"Oh wad some power the giffie gie us,

To see ourselves as others see us."

So says Burns. Do the priests, "who know how to avoid these expressions, know too much to debate at all?" It appears to me a pitiful way of lengthening a debate to dwell on common expressions,

in which the question at issue is not involved. A chemist says he will prove a fact in chemistry, which he demonstrates, and then claims he has proved it by demonstration. I will be silent if I find nothing more objectionable than that to reply to.

189. You say, par. 213, "the roundity of the earth is demonstrated by the testimony of great numbers of witnesses." I cannot even now believe, notwithstanding your high authority, that the roundity of the earth or the existence of God can by any possibility be demonstrated by testimony; else demonstration and testimony are synonymous, and you again utter that "nonsense" of which you complain in me.

190. In par. 216 you boast your extensive acquaintance with all kinds of society, a majority of whom profess to have seen and received communications from the supernatural. How does this agree with par. 86, where, speaking of spirits, you say, I am not aware that in any true sense they are supernatural? If, as you admit, there is nothing really supernatural, but only portions of nature relatively fine, which cannot govern the whole themselves, being parts, and subject to the governing influence of other parts, I think the point in issue is decided. You admit all I claim, that all the phenomena we witness are natural, and the different portions of nature mutually govern each other. If not, pray tell me how to distinguish the natural from the supernatural. I have asked the question so often in vain, that I am without hope of obtaining an answer.

191. In par. 223 you say you cannot distinguish between the natural and the supernatural, except by the popular distinction, or by saying that which is highest is super. Query. What is the standard of the highest? The difficulty still remains. And what the "popular distinction" is, I cannot even guess.

192. You say, par. 218, speaking of the Mormon doctrine, "it is believed by those who examine its evidence, because they cannot fail to appreciate its evidences," unless they are deeply interested in opposition. This might be said by the advocates of all kinds of superstition or notions, true or false, without helping us to perceive their truth or falsehood. However, having no vested interest in opposition to Mormonism, unless my aversion to being duped by priests be considered such, I shall be happy to examine the evidences at our leisure, if you desire to advance them. For this reason I stated in the opening of our discussion, that "my denial extended to the existence of the supernatural, and the revelation of his will in any written form whatever."

193. You say, par. 220, you "have exposed the absurdity of my grounds of doubt, by showing that the most certain facts in history and science are no better proved, and as much doubted." This only shows how little reason we have to believe those things called facts in history and science, and is good evidence for doubt instead of belief. If I desired to govern the credulous with my notions, I would advance such arguments as you do. But if I wished them to be governed by truth, I would encourage them to inquire continually concerning it. In fine, to do their own thinking, and let the priests do their own working, and thus make the minds and bodies of both more efficient for the promotion of happiness to the race, and less liable to be dupes or slaves. Yours for the truth,

EDWIN BURGESS.



KING STRANG'S PRESS

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NARRATIVE

BY HENRY E. LEGLER

HALF a century ago a mimic island kingdom existed within the boundaries of republican North America. Its ruler, who was known as King Strang, is remembered to-day chiefly by reason of the curious pamphlets and books which issued from his royal press—though the copies which have survived are but few in number and seldom met with even by collectors in the particular field to which the publications belong. The little kingdom was maintained for a period of several years, and its prolific press turned out thousands of pamphlets and several pretensions books, in addition to a newspaper that was issued at first weekly, and

then daily. For many months, annually, the isolated insular community (located in an archipelago of Lake Michigan) was ice-locked and and out of touch with the world, but the King's press continued to turn out its customary output. While this paper is more immediately concerned with the product of his press, the curious story of King Strang may be briefly interwoven.

In his native state, New York, James Jesse Strang had been in turn school-master, journalist, lawyer, postmaster and temperance lecturer—a pro-veilival rolling stone. In the early forties he drifted to Wisconsin, and in the little town of Burlington began

A paper read before the Bibliographical Society of Chicago, a monograph printed by the Parkman Club of Milwaukee, and a number of magazine articles—all by the writer hereof—have been freely drawn upon for this article.

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the practice of law. Mormon proselyters visited the town, and he espoused the doctrines of the Latter Day Saints with the fervid enthusiasm and energy characteristic of his erratic career. He was converted in January; on the 25th of February he visited Nauvoo and was baptized; less than a week after baptism he was made an elder with authority "to plant a stake of Zion" near his Wisconsin home. The following June the new but ambitious convert was struggling with Brigham Young for the mantle of Joseph Smith.

Strang had gathered around him at a place later called Voree, in Walworth County, Wis., several hundred persons who looked upon him as leader, when word came to him that the seer and his brother Hyrum had been riddled with bullets by a mob which stormed Carthage jail. Before the Nauvoo Mormons had recovered from the shock of the tragedy, Strang was in their midst, exhorting them to follow him to the city of promise at Voree. He exhibited a letter purporting to have been written the day prior to the assassination, prophesying that event and appointing James Strang as his successor. The letter is a curious document, subsequently reproduced by Strang in a pamphlet called *The Diamond*, printed at his Voree press in 1848 as Gospel Tract No. IV.

Brigham Young and the Council of Twelve denounced Strang as an imposter and the letter as a forgery. They summoned him before a conference to defend himself. There Strang made a vigorous and ingenious appeal

for recognition as the one chosen for the prophetic succession. The Council rejected his pretensions, and, according to the usual church formula, the aspirant was "given over to the buffetings of Satan, until he do repent."

Undaunted, and followed by a few hundred disciples whom his fervid oratory had attached to his cause, Strang returned to Voree, prophesying that the Nauvoo Mormons would be driven into exile unless they heeded his warning. He established a press whence issued hundreds of pamphlets, and a monthly paper, the *Voree Herald*; he planned the erection of a great temple, and organized his church on the pattern prescribed by the sacred books of the Mormon faith, with a Council of Twelve, and quorums of elders and priests, over whom he exercised chief authority. Like Joseph he had visions, and one of them enabled him to find, buried in a hill, a series of copper plates with strange characters engraved thereon. These he claimed were the long lost *Book of the Law of the Lord*, written on metallic plates long previous to the Babylonish captivity. By means of the Urim and Thummin he translated these mystic characters, as in like manner Joseph Smith had translated the plates dug out of the hill of Cumorah in the State of New York. This smacked strongly of imitation, but in no manner could he have appealed more forcibly to the religious delusion entertained by the followers of Joseph Smith. Brigham Young's party, in their Nauvoo paper, the *Times and Seasons*, and in the *Millennial Star*, of Liverpool, bitterly

assailed Strang, and he retorted savagely in the *Voree Herald*. The headlines of a four-column article in the *Millennial Star* may serve to indicate the character of the controversy.

SKETCHES OF NOTORIOUS CHARACTERS.

James J. Strang, Successor of Sidney Rigdon, Judas Iscariot, Cain & Co., Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Most Gracious Majesty, Lucifer the I., etc.

When Strang, in the city of Philadelphia, August, 1846, challenged two of Brigham Young's elders to a public debate to show who had the best authority to represent the true Mormon faith, they retorted as follows:

"Sir—After Lucifer was cut off and thrust down to hell, we have no knowledge that God ever condescended to investigate the subject or right of authority with him."

In his pamphlet called *Prophetic Controversy*, Strang alludes to the "saintly spirit" displayed by his opponents.

When the great exodus from Nauvoo began, Strang's prolific press turned out copies of what he called "the first pastoral letter of James the Prophet," concluding in this wise:

"Let the oppressed flee for safety unto Voree, and let the gathering of the people be there. . . . Let the filth of Zion be cleansed, and her garments of peace put on. Let neither gun nor sword be lifted in defiance, nor rest be taken upon arm of flesh,

and the city of our God shall be saved, and the temple of His holiness be unpolluted by the hand of the Gentile.

"Let not my call to you be vain. The destroyer has gone forth among you, and has prevailed. You are preparing to resign country and houses and lands to him. Many of you are about to leave the haunts of civilization and of men to go into an unexplored wilderness among savages, and in trackless deserts, to seek a home in the wilds where the footprint of the white man is not found. The voice of God has not called you to this. His promise has not gone before to prepare a habitation for you. The hearts of the Lamanites are not turned unto you, and they will not regard you. When the herd comes, the savages shall pursue. The cloud which surrounds by day shall bewilder, and the pillar of fire by night shall consume and reveal you to the destroyer."

By the exodus of the Brighamites across the Mississippi, Strang's followers at Voree alone remained, in the Northwest, of the thousands who had embraced the faith of Joseph Smith. Sidney Rigdon had led a small contingent into Pennsylvania; Lyman Wight, a few followers to Texas; Smith's son, a little remnant to a corner of Illinois. These were offshoots that came to naught; at Voree the numbers constantly increased. It soon became evident to Strang, despite seeming prosperity, that conditions were such as to threaten a repetition of the Nauvoo calamity, and he determined to remove his community where Gentile influence could not undermine it.

Near the door that divides the inland seas of Huron and Michigan is a group of islands, the largest of which is called Great Beaver. Strang visited this place, then far removed from centers of civilization, and found it a spot of great beauty and fruitfulness. Here was an ideal seat of power, remote from the obtrusiveness of civil officers, yet not so distant from the lines of travel as to render profitable traffic impossible. The waters teemed with excellent fish; the forests would furnish an abundance of timber; the soil needed but to be scratched to yield in multiplied plenty. To this land of promise he could lead his Saints, and here would they wax fat and strong. Strang's dream of empire, as subsequent events indicated, doubtless also prompted this new exodus.

Voree was deserted, and Beaver Island was appropriated without much regard to the claims of the resident fisher folk. Like the children of Israel, the Mormons believed they were directed to go into a land overflowing with milk and honey, and that they were justified in smiting the Lamanites, or Gentiles. The Mormons gave a new nomenclature to the physical characteristics of the island. The beautiful land-locked harbor was called St. James. The cluster of houses that they reared upon the ancient mounds along the shore—mounds which verified to the Mormon mind the prior existence of an extinct race alluded to in the *Book of Mormon*—they dignified by the name City of St. James. A hill in the interior was called Mount Pisgah. Their River

Jordan discharged into the lake the waters that poured into its bed from the Sea of Galilee.

Under Strang's guidance they built a large tabernacle of squared logs, began the construction of a schooner, but a steam sawmill and made a road to the interior where the land was splendidly adopted for agriculture. Elders traveled to the East and sent proselytes. Soon several thousand men, women and children were comprised in this new stake of Zion. Strang now felt strong enough to realize his ambitious plans. His press which he had transported from Voree, printed in book form the *Book of the Law of the Lord*, one chapter of which prophesied that a man whose name was James was destined to become king. It is Chapter XX, entitled "The Calling of a King," and the sixth chapter reads thus:

"6. He (God) hath chosen His servant James to be King: He hath made him His Apostle to all nations: He hath established Him a Prophet above the Kings of the earth; and appointed him King in Zion: By His voice did He call him, and He sent His angels unto him to ordain him."

The eighth day of July, 1850, was set for the coronation of King Strang, and great preparations were made for the event. In the meantime a plot had been hatched which threatened the extinction of the budding kingdom. There had been many conflicts between the Mormons and the Gentiles of neighboring islands and of Mackinac, and several persons had been killed. Word was passed among

the fishermen to gather at Beaver Island on the Fourth of July—supposedly to celebrate the national holiday, but in reality to expel the Mormons. The night before Independence Day, the little harbor seemed a veritable forest of masts. Armed men manned the fleet, and they prepared for the next day's onslaught by a tremendous carouse that lasted all night. In the morning, the fishermen were aroused by the booming of a cannon and the splash of cannon-shot in the water but a few rods distant. They sent a messenger to inquire of the Mormons the meaning of this proceeding. The facetious retort was made that it was a national salute in honor of the day. As the cannon balls came nearer and nearer, the fishermen in alarm sent a party under a flag of truce to negotiate with King Strang. The Mormons informed the messenger that the plot to kill the Mormons and destroy their temple was fully known, and that the first gun fired would be the signal to blow every boat in the harbor into kindling wood.

With customary energy Strang had prepared for the emergency, a hint of the intended raid having reached him. Immediately a general assembly of Mormons was called, and all the Saints assembled under arms. Secretly a cannon and stock of powder were purchased in Chicago, a large schooner was secured and anchored in the harbor, and in the night filled with armed men who kept below deck.

It had been planned by the fishermen to fall upon the Mormons while they

were in their tabernacle, but the demonstration with the cannon chilled their martial ardor. The Mormons met within the unfinished walls of the tabernacle; eight men mounted guard with their guns shotted; the cannon unlimbered in front in charge of twelve artillerists, with a fire in which heated balls were continually ready; and two patrols and a water guard were constantly on the lookout for the enemy.

The non-arrival of fleets expected from Gull Island and the East Shore completed the discomfiture of the fishermen, and they set sail and departed.

Four days later Strang was crowned King, according to program. It was an elaborate ceremonial. At one end of the tabernacle was a platform, and towards it marched the procession of elders and other quorums, escorting the king. First came Strang dressed in a robe of bright red, and accompanied by his Council. Then followed the twelve elders, the seventy, and the minor orders of the priesthood, or quorum, as they were called. The people were permitted to occupy what space remained in the tabernacle. The crown was a plain eirclet, with a cluster of stars projecting in front.

It was July eighth that this ceremony occurred, and every recurring eighth of July was known as the King's Day, and was celebrated as a holiday with many festivities. The entire population of the island was wont to gather at a place in the woods to go through prescribed ceremonials—the hewers of wood and the drawers of water making proper obeisance to the king. There were burnt offerings to begin with.

The head of each family brought a fowl, and a heifer was thereupon killed. Its body was dissected without breaking a bone. After these ceremonials there was feasting and rejoicing, and the people danced on the greensward.

King Strang was now supreme on Beaver Island, and bade fair soon to control the entire group of islands. His policy was to foster the fisheries as a source of profit to his colony, and to use the power of political machinery to secure immunity for infractions of the law. He secured his election as a member of the Michigan legislature, and thus was enabled to obtain local legislation that strengthened his power. By having his island and the adjacent territory included in one county, he obtained control of the legal machinery. A Mormon sheriff would arrest those who came under the King's displeasure, bring them before a Mormon jury and have them sentenced by a Mormon judge—all seemingly in full conformity with the laws of the state.

As the population of the island multiplied and the power of the Mormons with it, the hatred of the traders and fishermen on the opposite coasts became more intense. The border feud grew so bitter that the newspapers of Detroit, Cleveland, Buffalo and New York devoted considerable space to its incidents. Strang published an elaborate defense in the *New York Tribune* of July 2, 1853.

While visiting a brother in the city of Detroit, President Millard Fillmore was informed that among the remote

islands of Lake Michigan a person named Strang had established what he termed a kingdom, but that actually it was a nest of freebooters engaged in robbing the mails and counterfeiting the coin. The President despatched the armed steamer *Michigan* to Beaver Island and ordered the King's arrest on the charge of treason. The trial was held in Detroit, and attracted attention all over the country. The indictments against Strang were on twelve counts, including counterfeiting, mail robbery and treason. He conducted his own defense, and with such skill and shrewdness as to result in his acquittal. His speech to the jury was highly dramatic. He pictured himself a martyr to religious persecution. He was a master of emotional oratory, and on this occasion he distinguished himself. His acquittal gave him an immense prestige, and he so shrewdly manipulated politics that the solid vote of Beaver Island became of great concern to the politicians of Michigan.

The power of King Strang was now at its zenith. He proceeded to put into effect plans he had long cherished. Plural marriage was advocated, and the king took five wives for himself. The use of intoxicants was prohibited, and likewise of coffee, tea and tobacco. Tithes were required of every husbandman, and the firstling of every flock and the first fruits of the harvest went into the royal storehouse. Schools were established, and from the royal press were issued books and pamphlets in great number, most of them connected with their religion. The

most important publication was
 THE
 BOOK OF THE LAW OF THE
 LORD;

CONSISTING OF

*An Inspired Translation of Some of
 the Most Important Parts of
 the Law Given to Moses,
 and a Very Few Addi-
 tional Command-
 ments, with
 Brief Notes and References.*

PRINTED BY COMMAND OF THE KING
 AT THE ROYAL PRESS, ST. JAMES
 A. R. I.

The final letters, "A. R. I." are doubtless meant to represent the words *Anno Regis Primo*, "in the first year of the king," so that King Strang's egotism went to the length of beginning a new chronological era dating from the year of his coronation.

Preceding the so-called Preface is the following Testimony attesting the genuineness of Strang's plates of Laban. The men whose signatures appear witnessed the digging up of these plates, or rather used pick and shovel while Strang directed them to the right spot:

TESTIMONY.

"Be it known unto all nations, kindreds, tongues and people, to whom this Book of the Law of the Lord shall come, that James J. Strang has the plates of the ancient Book of the Law of the Lord given to Moses, from which he translated this law, and has shown them to us. We examined them

with our eyes, and handled them with our hands. The engravings are beautiful antique workmanship, bearing a striking resemblance to the ancient Oriental languages; and those from which the laws in this book were translated are eighteen in number, about seven inches and three-eighths wide, by nine inches long, occasionally embellished with beautiful pictures.

"And we testify unto you all that the everlasting kingdom of God is established, in which this law shall be kept, till it brings in rest and everlasting righteousness to all the faithful.

Samuel Graham,
 Albert N. Hosmer,
 Samuel P. Bacon."

The following is an extract from the preface:

"Several books are also mentioned in the Bible, but of equal authority with it, which have been lost; as for instance, another epistle of Paul to the Corinthian and the Ephesian churches, and the books of Iddo, Nathan and others, prophets of high rank in Israel.

"But of all the lost books, the most important was the Book of the Law of the Lord. This was kept in the ark of the covenant, and was held too sacred to go into the hands of strangers. When the Septuagint translation was made, the Book of the Law was kept back, and the Book lost to the Jewish nation in the time that they were subject to foreign powers. The various books in the Pentateuch, containing abstracts of some of the laws, have been read instead of it, until even the existence of the book has come to be a matter of doubt.

"It is from an authorized copy of that book, written on metallic plates, long previous to the Babylonish captivity, that this translation is made."

Another publication, now excessively rare—indeed I know of but one copy in existence—has the following wording on its title page:

"Collection of Sacred Hymns adopted to the faith and views of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Voree: Gospel Press, 1850."

No complete files of the *Voree Herald* or of the *Northern Islander* are known to be in existence to-day. The history of both papers is given in the issue of *The Islander* for January, 1856. It is stated in this article that the *Herald* made a volume of 1,004 pages, Strang possessing the complete file, the St. James' Library, a file with one number missing and Gilbert Watson, a file with two numbers missing. From May, 1856, until two months later, when the kingdom fell asunder, the royal organ was printed as a small daily—a marvel of journalistic enterprise in this out of the way spot that astonished passengers on the boats which put into the harbor of St. James.

The end of the kingdom came with startling suddenness. Strang developed an autocratic sway that dictated not only the ecclesiastical affairs of his subjects, but everything connected with their daily life. Women were required to wear bloomers; men were to be as decorous in their conduct as women; gaming was prohibited as strictly as was the use of intoxicants and narcotics. Murmurs of discontent

arose. Some of the islanders fled and stirred to renewed activity the Gentile fishermen on the mainland. Before their plans for a second invasion could be carried out, the king was assassinated by two rebellious subjects. One of them had been publicly whipped for the offence of upholding his wife's refusal to wear bloomers.

About the middle of June, 1856, the "Michigan" steamed into the harbor, and King Strang was invited aboard by the officers. As he was about to step on the pier, two pistol-shots were fired from behind, both taking effect. The men ran aboard the steamer and gave themselves up. They were taken to Mackinac, but released without trial.

The wounds of Strang proved fatal. He called his elders to his deathbed, gave them instructions for the government of his Mormon kingdom, and as a last request asked to be taken to the city of refuge which he had founded in Wisconsin. There he died July 9, 1856, and there his bones rest in an unmarked grave.

The kingdom fell with him. The Gentile invasion came soon after his removal to Voree. The fishermen came with torch to burn and ax to demolish. The printing office was sacked; the tabernacle was reduced to ashes; the Mormons who resisted were exiled. On the islands of Green Bay and its adjacent peninsula a few of them built new homes. Some sought the land whence they had followed their prophet; the rest were scattered to the four points of the compass.

WILLIAM HARRISON AINSWORTH

BY ADRIAN H. JOLINE

[Concluded.]

DURING the period between 1836 and 1844, Ainsworth, as we have seen, was closely associated with Cruikshank, who was destined to become a thorn in his side. The second issue of "Rookwood" was illustrated by Cruikshank, who furnished also the designs for "Jack Sheppard," "The Tower of London," "Guy Fawkes," "The Miser's Daughter," "Windsor Castle" (in part), and "St. James's."

Whatever may be said of Cruikshank as an artist, he was beyond question a vain, self-centred and disagreeable person. "He had a tendency," says Blanchard Jerrold, "to quarrel with all persons with whom he had business relations, and when he did quarrel, his words knew no bounds."* He came to that stage of boundless conceit when he regarded himself as the creator of all the works for which he supplied the illustrations and reduced the writer to the level of an ordinary amanuensis. All the world knows his absurd pretensions to the origination of *Oliver Twist*. He also asserted his claim to everything that was good in "Jack Sheppard," "The Miser's Daughter," and "The Tower of London." But he also claimed Egan's *Life in London* and even a poem of Laman Blanchard's which he had illustrated for the *Omnibus*—as well as

the pattern of the hat worn by Russian soldiers! Blanchard Jerrold says in the *Life* that the controversies about Dickens and Ainsworth "arose from Cruikshank's habit of exaggeration in all things," which is a biographer's euphemism, signifying in plain English that the man was an unmitigated liar.

If any one is curious about the history of the controversies, he will find a full, fair and dispassionate account in Chapters VIII and IX of Jerrold's book. The biographer prints in full Ainsworth's dignified rejoinder to Cruikshank's assault, and justly ridicules the utterances of the eccentric designer. Austin Dobson, a competent and impartial judge, has recently added his condemnation of Cruikshank's arrogance.* "He was not exempt" says Mr. Dobson "from a certain 'Roman infirmity' of exaggerating the importance of his own performances—an infirmity which did not decrease with years. Whatever the amount of assistance he gave to Dickens and to Ainsworth, it is clear that it was not rated by them at the value he placed upon it. That he did make suggestions, relevant or irrelevant, can hardly be doubted, for it was part of his inventive and ever-projecting habit of mind. It must

* *Life of Cruikshank* (1882), i, 48-49.

* *Dictionary of National Biography, Cruikshank.*

also be conceded that he most signally seconded the text by his graphic interpretations; but that this aid or these suggestions were of such a nature as to transfer the credit of the 'Miser's Daughter' and 'Oliver Twist' from the authors to himself is more than can reasonably be allowed."

Mr. Firth, a friend of Cruikshank, says in his Autobiography:* "Cruikshank labored under a strange delusion regarding the works of Dickens and Ainsworth. I heard him announce to a large company assembled at dinner at Glasgow that he was the writer of 'Oliver Twist.' * * He also wrote the 'Tower of London,' erroneously credited to Ainsworth, as well as other works commonly understood to have been written by that author. My intimacy with Cruikshank enables me to declare that I do not believe he would be guilty of the least deviation from truth, and to this day I can see no way of accounting for what was a most absurd delusion." In fact, there is only one way, if we concede truthfulness to the deluded person; he was not of sound mind.

That Cruikshank was pertinaciously suggestive may be readily admitted. "He was excessively troublesome and obtrusive in his suggestions" says Ainsworth. "Mr. Dickens declared to me that he could not stand it and should send him printed matter in future." He adds, in a kindly spirit which must appeal to every reader, considering the grossness of the unjustifiable attack upon him, "It would be unjust, however, to deny that there

* Vol. I, 211.

was not wonderful cleverness and quickness about Cruikshank, and I am indebted to him for many valuable hints and suggestions." Ainsworth's appreciation is further shown by an unpublished letter in my possession, written on December 23, 1838, to Mr. Jones.

"Bentley" he says "will forward you the introductory chapters and illustrations of Jack Sheppard with this note. As it is of the utmost consequence to me to produce a favourable impression upon the public by this work, I venture to hope that you will lend me a helping hand at starting.

* * Cruikshank's illustrations are, in my opinion, astonishingly fine. The scene in loft throws into shade all his former efforts in this line." This letter also reveals what appears abundantly in the pages of my collection,—that Ainsworth was given to calling on all his friends of journalistic and magazine associations to praise his books. He was not at all backward in urging them to puff the new works; and when Mr. Ebers was the manager of the opera, he artfully threw in suggestions of "free tickets," which was perhaps justifiable but scarcely consistent with dignity.

As an example of the way in which Cruikshank took pains to inflict upon his author the details of his designs, it may not be amiss to quote a letter which is also among my possessions, and which has not been published, to the best of my knowledge. It is addressed to Ainsworth and is dated "Saturday evening, 5 o'clock."

"Jonathan Wild has hold of Jack's

left arm with *his* left hand, and grasps the collar with his right. The Jew has both his arms round Jack's right arm and Quiet Arnold has hold of the right side of Jack's coat. This fellow in making his spring at Sheppard may upsett the gravedigger who nearly falls into the grave. I should advise the approach of the attacking party to be thus. The Jew and some other fellow go round the *north* of the church and lurk there and Qt. Arnold in that road at the N. W. corner—Wild himself to come along the *south* side so as to take Jack in the rear. Darrell is about to draw his sword. In the other subject I have given Jonathan a *stout* walking stick. I have only time to add that I am yours very truly. The cheque all safe, many thanks."

Cruikshank first put forth his claim publicly in 1872, by means of a pamphlet called *The Artist and the Author*, just after the publication of the first volume of Forster's *Dickens*. It is likely that he was encouraged in his folly by the flattery of foolish friends. Jerrold lays much blame on Thackeray, from whom he quotes a long passage exalting the artist far beyond the author. "With regard to the modern romance of 'Jack Sheppard,'" remarks Thackeray, "it seems to us that Mr. Cruikshank really created the tales, and that Mr. Ainsworth, as it were, only put words to it. Let any reader of the novel think over it for awhile, now that it is some months since he has perused and laid it down,—let him think, and tell us what he remembers of the tale. George Cruikshank's pictures—al-

ways George Cruikshank's pictures." Mr. Jerrold expresses the opinion that Thackeray was always unjust to Ainsworth. "He caricatured him unmercifully in *Punch*, and never lost an opportunity of being amusing at his expense." I am not inclined to agree with Mr. Jerrold's views. The long and cordial intimacy of the two men is evidence against the truth of the theory. I find no record of any feeling of resentment on Ainsworth's part against the author of *Vanity Fair*, and Ainsworth was by no means timid in self-defence or averse to a sturdy combat with those who assailed him. Thackeray—who never got over the conviction that he himself was an "artist"—a picture maker—naturally gave to the illustrator an undue meed of praise; and at the risk of denunciation by all the scribblers who succumb to the "disease of admiration," and find it easy to glorify a famous man as if he were perfect and infallible, I venture to say that in grotesqueness and faulty drawing, the great Snob and the great Cruikshank were not very dissimilar. Yet Thackeray's comments were wisdom itself when compared with the silly utterance of a Mr. Walter Thornbury, who thus delivers himself: "Even Dickens had his fine gold jewelled by Cruikshank. Ainsworth's tawdry rubbish—now all but forgotten, and soon to sink deep in the mud-pool of oblivion,—was illuminated with a false splendor by the great humorist."* A critical person might

* British Artists from Hogarth to Turner, ii, 59.

be disposed to inquire why the "great humorist" should lower himself by illuminating anything with a "false splendor." It is not complimentary to the great humorist, but Mr. Thornbury unconsciously told the truth; his hero was falseness personified.

In his "Few Words about George Cruikshank," Ainsworth said: "For myself, I desire to state emphatically that not a single line—not a word—in any of my novels was written by their illustrator, Cruikshank. In no instance did he even see a proof. The subjects were arranged with him early in the month, and about the fifteenth he used to send me tracings of the plates. That was all." He adds: "*Ne sutor ultra crepidam*. Had Cruikshank been capable of constructing a story, why did he not exercise his talent when he had no connection with Mr. Dickens or myself? But I never heard of such a tale being published." Of course, it may be said that Cruikshank did not pretend that he had written the books—only that he had furnished the leading ideas; that is an easy thing to assert, a hard thing to disprove, and an impossible thing to demonstrate.

It is fairly manifest that if there had been any real foundation for the claims of Cruikshank, he would not have waited for thirty years before setting up his title. He sought to account for the delay by asseverating that he had frequently *in private* asserted his claim, which anybody possessed of ordinary intelligence will see in a moment was a puerile make-shift; no sufficient reason or explanation. As

nobody whose opinion is worth accepting has ever given credence to the tale of the old artist, it may be a waste of time to give it further attention; but it may be permitted to show that Cruikshank needed a good deal of instruction himself.

The fact is shown by the letter of Dickens, produced in facsimile by Forster,* and it is confirmed by several of Ainsworth's letters now lying before me. In March, 1836, while Cruikshank was engaged on the designs for the second edition of "Rookwood," Ainsworth wrote to Macrone, the publisher, "I *have* seen some of George Cruikshank's designs, and it was because I thought them so *sketchy* that I write to you. They are anything but *full* subjects and appear to be chosen as much as possible for light work. He shirked the inauguration scene, for instance, because it was too crowded. I quite agree with you that a few good designs are better than many meagre sketches, and all I want is that you should make George understand this. He has evidently two styles—and one can scarcely recognize in some of his 'Bozzes' the hand of the designer of the Comic Almanack.

* * *Do*, I pray of you, see George Cruikshank, and don't let him put us off so badly." Again, in writing to Macrone in 1836, he makes several recommendations for designs, and adds: "Another suggestion—and this refers to George. In addition to the figures I suggested, I wish him to introduce as entering my old gentleman's chamber, Thomas Hill, Esq.

* Vol. ii, 321-322.

(in propria persona), or as I shall call him, Tom Vale. If George has not seen him, you can get the sketch from Frazer's Mag. but introduced he must be, as I mean to carry him throughout and to make him play the part of Mr. Weller in my story; I wish George therefore to give the portrait, easily done, as exact as possible." In a later letter to Cruikshank himself, while they were at work together on "The Tower," he writes: "Pray, when you are at the Tower, sketch the gateway of the Bloody Tower from the south; the chamber where the princes were murdered; the basement chamber at the right of the gateway of the Bloody Tower, near the Round Tower." All this furnishes competent testimony that Cruikshank was a mere illustrator, directed and controlled by the author.

VI.

From the time of "Jack Sheppard" until 1881, a period of over forty years, Ainsworth was a busy man, producing book after book at regular intervals and closely occupied with editorial labors. After "St. James's" he began "Auriol," which was by no means successful. It dealt with a London alchemist of the sixteenth century, but the plot was defective and it was not published in book form until near the close of the author's life. In 1848 he wrote "Lancashire Witches" for the *Sunday Times*, receiving £1,000. It was dedicated to his old friend James Crossley, President of the Chetham Society, which published many volumes, including

Potts's *Discovery of Witches* and the *Journals* of Nicolas Assheton, both of which furnished much of the material for the story. In 1854, "Star Chamber" and "The Flitch of Bacon, or the Custom of Dunmow" appeared. The "Flitch" treated of the ancient Essex custom of giving a "Gamon of Bacon" to a married pair "who had taken an oath, pursuant to the ancient 'Custom of Confession,' if ever—

"—You either married man or wife
By household brawles or contentious strife,
Or otherwise, in bed or at board,
Did offend each other in deed or word,
Or, since the Parish clerk said *Amen*,
You wish't yourselves unmarried agen,
Or in a twelve months time and a day,
Repented not in thought, anyway;
But continued true and just in desire
As when you joyn'd hands in the holy quire."

In 1851 "the lord of the manor declined to give the flitch, but the claimants obtained one from a public subscription, and a concourse of some three thousand people assembled in Easton Park in their honour."* In 1855 Ainsworth himself offered to give the flitch. The candidates were Mr. James Barlow and his wife, of Chipping Sugar, and the Chevalier de Chatelain and his wife, the last named being well known in literary circles. They were old friends of Ainsworth. I have thirteen letters from Ainsworth to the Chevalier and his wife, of the most intimate character, dating from 1845 to 1880. In one of them, written at Brighton on October 22, 1854, he says:

"My dear Chevalier: Thanks for your charming little volume, full of

* Dict. Nat. Biog., i, 198.

graceful translations. You have done me the favor I find to include the 'Custom of Dunmow' in your collection. Within the last few days I have received another version in French of the same ballad by Jacques Desroriers. The Tale has been translated under the title of '*Un An et un Jour*', and published at Bruxelles. You will be glad to hear that a worthy personage has announced his intention of bequeathing a sum sufficient for the perpetual maintenance of the good old custom."

On January 5, 1855, he writes to Madame de Chatelain:

"I need scarcely say, I hope, that I shall be most happy to entertain your claim for the Flitch—and though I believe a prior claim has been made, I will gladly give a second prize rather than you should experience any disappointment." On July 19, 1855, she received the flitch of bacon in the Windmill Field Dunmore.

In 1856 "Spendthrift" appeared, and in 1857 "Merwyn Clitheroe" which he began in 1851 but abandoned after a few weekly numbers. In 1860 he published "Ovingdean Grange, a Tale of the South Downs." The two books last mentioned were partly autobiographical.

It is unnecessary to do more than to enumerate his later productions, for although they showed the scrupulous care which he exercised in respect to details and the pains he took to be accurate in historical references, they were never as popular as his earlier works. The list is quite imposing: "Constable of the Tower," 1861;

"The Lord Mayor of London," 1862; "Cardinal Pole," 1863; "John Law, the Projector," 1864; "The Spanish Match, or Charles Stuart in Madrid," 1865; "Myddleton Pomfret," 1865; "The Constable de Bourbon," 1866; "Old Court," 1867; "The South Sea Bubble," 1868; "Hilary St. Ives," 1869; "Talbot Harland," 1870; "Tower Hill," 1871; "Boscobel," 1872; "The Manchester Rebels, or the Fatal '45," 1873; "Merry England," 1874; "The Goldsmith's Wife," 1874; "Preston Fight, or the Insurrection of 1715," 1875; "Chetwynd Calverley," 1876; "The Leaguer of Lathom, a Tale of the Civil War in Lancashire," 1876; "The Fall of Somerset," 1877; "Beatrice Tyldesley," 1878; "Beau Nash," 1880; "Auriol and other tales," 1880; and "Stanley Brereton," 1881. Not a single one of this long catalogue is now remembered. Percy Fitzgerald in an article in *Belgravia* (November, 1881), said that the description of Ainsworth's books in the Catalogue of the British Museum filled no fewer than forty pages. Mr. Axon reduces the number of pages to twenty-three, but that is very extensive. In addition to the prose works whose titles are given above, he published in 1855 "Ballads, Romantic, Fantastical and Humorous," which was illustrated by Sir John Gilbert and which contains some spirited and picturesque verses.

In 1881 Ainsworth was nearly seventy-seven, and approaching the end of his career. On September 15 in that year, the Mayor of Manchester, Sir Thomas Baker, gave a ban-

quet in his honor at the town hall. In proposing the health of the guest, the Mayor said that in the Manchester public free libraries there were two hundred and fifty volumes of his works. "During the last twelve months," said the mayor, "these volumes have been read seven thousand six hundred and sixty times, mostly by the artisan class of readers. And this means that twenty volumes of his works are being perused in Manchester by readers of the free libraries every day all the year through."

Contemporaneous memoirs and records are full of testimony to the personal popularity of Ainsworth in the social life of the day. He entertained freely, and was a favorite guest. Dickens and Thackeray were both fond of him, although Blanchard Jerrold, as we have seen, doubted Thackeray's friendship. Forster says in his *Dickens*, referring to the period *circa* 1838, "A friend now especially welcome, too, was the novelist, Mr. Ainsworth, who shared with us incessantly for the three following years in the companionship which began at his house; with whom we visited, during two of these years, friends of arts and letters in his native Manchester, from among whom Dickens brought away his *Brothers Cheeryble*, and to whose sympathy in tastes and pursuits, accomplishments in literature, open-hearted, generous ways, and cordial hospitality, many of the pleasures of later years are due." I have a little note of his, addressed to Dickens, saying: "Don't forget your engagement to dine with me on Tues-

day next. I shall send a refresher to Forster, the unpunctual." There is also this letter from Dickens—strangely enough, in black ink and not the blue which he employed in later days.

"Devonshire Terrace,
Fifth February, 1841.

MY DEAR AINSWORTH—

Will you tell me where that *Punch* is to be bought, what one is to ask for, and what the cost is. It has made me very uneasy in my mind.

Mind—I deny the beer. It is very excellent; but that it surpasses that meeker, and gentler, and brighter ale of mine (oh how bright it is!) I never will admit. My gauntlet lies upon the earth.

Yours, in defiance,
CHARLES DICKENS."

One of my Thackeray letters is addressed to Ainsworth, dated in 1844, inviting him to dine at the Garrick, with the characteristic remark, "I want to ask 3 or 4 of the literary profession." Tom Moore in his *Journal* (November 21, 1838) mentions a dinner at Bentley's where the company was "all the very *haut ton* of the literature of the day," including himself (named first), Jerdan, Ainsworth, Lever, Dickens, Campbell, and Luttrell. We read in Mackay's "Breakfasts with Rogers" of a breakfast where he met Sydney Smith, Daniel O'Connell, Sir Augustus D'Este and Ainsworth. These references might be multiplied indefinitely. According to Hazlitt, Ainsworth had one rule, as a host, which in these days of studied unpunctuality might be considered unduly vigorous; when

he had friends to dinner he locked his outside gate at the stroke of the clock, and no late comer was admitted.

It is not to be denied that he had his foibles and that he also had his quarrels—few men of any force or strength of will and character can escape quarrels. That he fell out with Cruikshank and Bentley is not to be wondered at, for almost everybody did that, sooner or later. His passage at arms with Francis Mahony—the Father Prout of “Bells of Shandon” fame—is more to be regretted, but he was in no way to blame. He behaved very well under trying conditions. The trouble dated from Ainsworth’s secession from *Bentley’s Miscellany*—what Mr. Bates calls his “dis-Bentleyfication,” and, ignoring their past intimacy and cordial companionship, Mahony sneered at the man “who left the tale of Crichton half told, and had taken up with ‘Blueskin,’ ‘Jack Sheppard,’ ‘Flitches of Bacon,’ and ‘Lancashire Witches,’ and thought such things were ‘literature,’”—following it up with some rather poor and clumsy verse-libels, flat, stale and unprofitable—utterly unworthy of a moment’s time. Ainsworth replied most courteously in a parody of Prout, called “The Magpie of Marwood; an humble Ballad,” which no one could condemn as either coarse or brutal. When Mahony came back at his former friend with quotations from private letters asking eulogistic notices and literary aid, and when he said “Has he forgotten that he was fed at the table of Lady Blessington? not merely for the sake of companion-

ship? for a duller Dog never sat at a convivial board,” he showed himself a despicable cad, a perfidious creature, well deserving the name of “Jesuit scribe,” which was about all the retort which Ainsworth thought fit to make.

As Blanchard Jerrold says, *Punch* was often quite severe on Ainsworth. Spielmann in his *History of Punch* confirms the statement:

“Harrison Ainsworth, as much for his good-looks and his literary vanity, as for his tendency to reprint his romances in such journals as came under his editorship, was the object of constant banter. An epigram put the case very neatly:

“Says Ainsworth to Colburn,
‘A plan in my pate is,
To give my romance as
A supplement, *gratis*.’
Says Colburn to Ainsworth,
‘Twill do very nicely,
For that will be charging
It’s value precisely.’

“Harrison Ainsworth could not have his portrait painted, nor write a novel of crime and sensation, without being regarded as a convenient peg for pleasantry.”

There seems to have been, unluckily, a shadow of a difference with William Jerdan, of the *Literary Gazette*, whose diffuse and often tedious *Autobiography* was published in 1853. “Among incipient authors,” says Jerdan, “whom (to use a common phrase) it was in my power to ‘take by the hand’ and pull up the steep, few had heartier help than Mr. William Harrison Ainsworth, whose literary propensities were strong in youth, and

who has since made so wide a noise in the world of fictitious and periodical literature. From some cause or another, which I cannot comprehend, he has given a notice to my publishers, to forbid the use of any of his correspondence in these Memoirs, though on looking over a number of his letters I can discover nothing discreditable to him, or aught of which he has reason to be ashamed." I think it is not difficult to understand what Jerdan seemed unable to comprehend. Ainsworth did not care to have his confidential requests for good notices to go out to the public. It was a weakness of his to beg for complimentary reviews and Father Prout had made the most of it; small wonder that he dreaded a repetition of the experience. Jerdan gives, however, a very kindly estimate of Ainsworth.*

The good looks of Ainsworth have been referred to several times; they were the good looks of the days of William IV., but the Maclise and Pickersgill portraits as well as the later Fry photograph have a dandified appearance, which in our modern eyes detracts from true dignity. The sketch in the *Maclise Gallery* shows him at his best, in his Fraser days, a fine and gallant figure, without the hideous whiskers of the type beloved by Tittlebat Titmouse. "This delicately drawn portrait of the novelist" comments Mr. Bates, "just at the time that he had achieved his reputation—hair curled and oiled as

that of an Assyrian bull, the gothic arch coat-collar, the high neckcloth, and the tightly strapped trowsers—exhibits as fine an exemplar as we could wish for, of the dandy of D'Orsay type and pre-Victorian epoch." How he looked at seventy-seven, when the Manchester Mayor feasted him, we can hardly imagine, but an aged dandy is usually quite pitiable and he must have afforded a melancholy spectacle, for dandyism confirmed and persistent does not well become old age.

He lived at one time at the "Elms" at Kilburn, and later at Kensal Manor House on the Harrow Road. Afterwards he lived at Brighton and at Tunbridge Wells. When he grew old he resided with his oldest daughter, Fanny, at Hurstpierpoint. He had also a residence at St. Mary's Road, Reigate, Surrey, and there he died, on Sunday, January 3d, 1882. On January 9th, he was buried in Kensal Green Cemetery, with a quiet and simple ceremonial as he wished. His widow and three daughters by his first marriage survived him.

Ainsworth had no power to portray character or to analyze motives; his genius was purely descriptive. He had a strong literary bent, and he was a man of letters in the true sense. He did not possess the spark which gives immortality, but he toiled faithfully and his work was well done even if he did not reach the standard of the greatest of his contemporaries.

* Autobiography, iv, 390-393.



BIBLIOTECA FILIPINA Ó SEA CATÁLOGO RAZONADO DE TODOS LOS IMPRESOS, TANTO INSULARES COMO EXTRANJEROS, RELATIVOS Á LA HISTORIA. . . DE LAS ISLAS FILIPINAS, DE JOLÓ Y MARIANAS. Por T. H. Pardo de Tavera, de Manila. Published under the direction of The Library of Congress and the Bureau of Insular Affairs, War Department. Wash., 1903.

The manuscript of this bibliography of the Philippines was placed at the disposal of the Library of Congress by the compiler, Dr. Pardo de Tavera, who had spent years of research in gathering the entries; and it was at first intended to enlarge it by the inclusion of all the material in the Congressional Library. This proved impracticable, however, and the Library collection was finally gathered into a separate volume, which was issued a short time ago and reviewed in these pages.

The *Biblioteca Filipina*, which is now reprinted from Senate Document No. 74 of the Fifty-seventh Congress, is published without revision from Dr. Pardo de Tavera's manuscript, with an introduction, in Spanish, by the compiler, sketching the history of Philippine printing and literature and

the provenance and location of the most important materials.

The list aims to include all literature relating to the Philippines. The major portion consists, of course, of works in the Spanish language, and the notes are all given in the original Spanish. These notes are very full and informative. The bibliography records many Spanish and Manila imprints not before mentioned, and attains a length of 2,850 entries, alphabetically arranged. It is a particularly valuable publication, and in connection with the *List of Books on the Philippine Islands in the Library of Congress*, forms by far the best extant bibliography of a subject in which historical research will now increasingly be made.

INSTRUCTIONS CONCERNING ERECTING OF A LIBRARY: Presented to my Lord the President De Mesme. By Gabriel Naudéus, P. and now Interpreted by Jo. Evelyn, Esquire. Cambridge, Printed for Houghton, Mifflin & Company, at the Riverside Press, 1903.

The original *Advis pour Dresser une Bibliothèque* was printed in 1627, to save the author, Gabriel Naudé, the pains of writing out for many friends the advice for which they were continually asking him. Naudé had been

appointed five years before, at the age of twenty-two, to the post of librarian to President Henri de Mesmes, and his natural aptitude as a librarian soon made his words respected in the Parisian book world. When twenty years later he was chosen by Cardinal Mazarin to form the great Mazarin library and prepare it for public use, he was well equipped for the task, and the famous collection stands as a monument to his learning and labors, as well as to the munificence of the Cardinal.

In 1644 he revised the *Advis* and republished it. Several French reprints and one in Latin have been made, and in 1621, John Evelyn gave to the English his "traduction" of the treatise, elaborately dedicated to the Earl of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor of England. Evelyn's edition has been handsomely reprinted by the Riverside Press in a small octavo volume in red and black, of which we should have made mention before.

Naudé was, as his foreword explained, "first constrained to break the Yce, and trace the way cursorily for those who may render it more perspicuous at their leasure." He covered the whole ground, from the question "One ought to be curious in erecting of Libraries, and why?" down through the means of selecting and acquiring the books to the proper way of housing and arranging them, and finally to a consideration of "What ought to be the principal scope and end of such a Library."

He was a broad minded and public-spirited man, and proclaimed the doctrine "That in vain does a man strive to put in execution any of the foresaid Expedients, or be at any notable charge for Books, who has not a design to devote and consecrate them to the publick use, or denies to communicate them to the least, who may reap any benefit thereby." It must have given him great pleasure in his later years to plan the great Mazarin library and make it "open to all the world, without excluding a living soul." Naudé had found his ideal library in the Ambrosian of Milan, and with the true "library spirit" which prompts debates on the open shelf question at the present day, he thus describes its excellence "in obliging the publique:"

"Is it not a thing altogether extraordinary,

that any one may come into it, almost at all hours he will, stay as long as he pleases, see, read, extract what authors he desires, have all the means & conveniences to do it, be it in publique or particular & that without any other labour, than visiting it himself at the ordinary dayes, and hours, placing himself in the seats destin'd for this purpose, and asking of the *Bibliothecary* for those Books which he desires to make use of, or of any three of his servants, who are well stipendiated, & entertain'd as well for the service of the *Library*, as of all those who come every day thither to study in it."

AUCTION PRICES OF AMERICAN BOOK-CLUB PUBLICATIONS, 1857-1901. Cleveland: The Rowfant Club, 1904.

This compilation has been announced as on the stone for some time past, but has only now gotten into its binding and made its appearance. It is a small square quarto volume of seventy pages, printed on a Dutch hand-made paper and bound in gray boards with brown Russia back, lettered in gold on the side. It has been printed by Hopkins at the Marion Press, and is a very well built little volume. One hundred and twenty-five copies form the edition.

An introductory note states that "This volume was prepared for the Rowfant Club by Robert F. Roden, of New York. It is intended for the use of members desiring easy access to a record of the prices at which the publications of the more important American book-clubs have sold, at auction, for a series of years."

It includes one or more publications of about thirty book clubs. The first in point of time is the Seventy-Six Society of Philadelphia, which was founded in 1854, and was followed rapidly by The Club, New York, 1857-58, and the Prince Society, Boston, 1858. The club of most recent birth represented is the Society of Iconophiles, started in 1897.

An alphabetical arrangement of clubs is followed, and there is no index, though one is a desideratum. The title of each publication recorded is given with full copy of title-page and bibliographical description, and below are listed the years and names of sales at which copies have changed hands, with prices. Sometimes not more than one sale is reported, some-

times over three dozen, the record sometimes extending from the Wight sale in 1864 to the many sales of 1901. In the case of the Rowfant Club's books alone does the list pass the year 1901, and include sales of 1902 and in a few instances of 1903. To the outsider this seems very remiss in a book published in 1904. The most recent sales-prices are naturally those of the most practical use to the collector, and are at the same time the easiest to record, whereas those of earlier days are often difficult to trace. It should have been easy for the compiler to keep the list revised to the last sale before going to press, and it is surprising that a club like the Rowfant should have permitted anything short of completeness in a record of this sort.

An equally great weakness is the omission of any details of the condition of books sold. In cases where vellum or Japan paper copies are issued side by side with ordinary paper copies of the same book, the fact that the copy sold was on vellum, or large paper, or otherwise distinguished from other copies in the list, is sometimes indicated and sometimes not. This is extremely disconcerting, and greatly lessens the value of such records as are given. The facsimile of *Poor Richard's Almanack*, issued by the Duodecimos in 1893, is listed as selling in 1898, for \$19.00, in 1899 for \$11.50, in

1901 for \$21.00. How can one account for this fluctuation? Was the 1899 copy a poor one or re-bound? Were the higher priced ones printed on vellum or paper? Did the insertion of fine book-plates heighten their value? Or was 1899 an off year? When a Grolier Club publication brings \$24.00 at one sale and \$60.00 at another during the same year, is it because one was part of a famous collection and the other was not, or was there some question of binding, paper, or condition? Perhaps the limited audience for whom the book was printed are so conversant with the mysterious ways of the auction-room that they can divine all these things. But if the compilation of such a book is intended as a real guide to mortals with a thirst for information, it might certainly have better attained its purpose by definitely imparting such information, rather than by leaving the inquirer to be haunted by an unanswered "Why?" whenever he seeks its aid.

Unless there is a fitting answer to the inevitable query, *Why* were these things not told? it would seem that this little volume, so attractive at the first inspection, must reflect more credit upon its printer than upon its compiler or upon the book club to which must fall the praise or blame for any of its chosen flock of publications.



AMERICAN DOCUMENTS.

Five documents of interest are presented in the April number of the *American Historical Review*, with explanatory notes by their finders. One is a full memorandum description of the elaborate funeral of William Lovelace, nephew of Governor Lovelace, at New York, 1671, preserved in the Ashmolean Manuscripts at the Bodleian Library, among miscellaneous documents. It gives a good picture of colonial customs, and some information on the Lovelace family.

The second is an unsigned letter of Benjamin Franklin, 1775, discovered in a volume of Continental Congress letters at the Congressional Library by Worthington C. Ford. The third is a letter from William Jackson, assistant secretary of war under Washington, to Thomas Pinckney, our Minister to England. It is dated Paris, April, 1794, and is a long account of conditions in France, its government, armies and people, at that date. The manuscript is now in the Bureau of Indexes and Archives of the English State Department.

Reuben Gold Thwaites publishes a letter from

Admiral Farragut to Dr. Lyman C. Draper, written in 1853, telling of his early life in Tennessee, his mother's death, and biographical details of his father's life for which he had been asked. This letter is now among the Draper manuscripts in the Wisconsin Historical Society Library.

CHARLES LAMB IN HERTFORDSHIRE.

Nine or ten years ago the Rev. Canon Ainger wrote and delivered a lecture on "How I traced Charles Lamb in Hertfordshire." This he promised, last fall, to revise for the editor of the *Cornhill Magazine*. Canon Ainger's death preventing this, the article is now printed without revision in the May *Cornhill*. It describes a day which he spent at the village of Widford, while writing his life of Lamb for the English Men of Letters series, searching for local information of Lamb's youth there. He was taken to see a Mrs. Tween, a lady near eighty years old, and found her to be the daughter of Randal Norris, the old friend of Lamb's father, of whom Charles Lamb wrote most affectionately. She had known his family and could tell of the "fair-haired maid" to whom Lamb lost his heart before he was seventeen and whom he often mentioned in his essays under the name of Ann or Alice. Mrs. Tween had also some rare Lamb imprints and relics, and gave Canon Ainger much information which the Lamb collector will find delightfully told for the first time in this paper.

EARLY HUNTING MANUSCRIPTS.

Gace de la Buigne was the chaplain of King John the Good, and after the battle of Poitiers accompanied the unfortunate king and his fifteen-year-old son Philip, into prison. At Hereford the King began, in 1359, a long imprisonment. His chaplain was also a right good sportsman, and to him John committed the sporting education of young Philip *le Hardi*. He had him write a book of instructions in the noble art of venery, and this book is described in the *Fortnightly Review* for May, by W. and F. Baillie-Grohmann.

The book was called the *Roman des Oiseaux ou Roman de Déduits*, and was written in verse in old French that is still readable. It combined much moral discussion and allegory with the hunting lore intended for the royal boy, and is long-winded and tedious enough. But it contains much solid information from a master of woodcraft.

Gace's book antedates by a century *The Boke of St Albans*, of Dame Juliana Berners, and is considered by the writers to be vastly its superior. The early printers created bibliographical confusion by adding parts of it to several editions of the more famous *Gaston Phœbus*, without giving credit to Gace for his share in

the work, so the authorship has been many times in dispute.

W. A. Baillie-Grohmann contributes an article of a similar nature to the May *Connoisseur* on Fifteenth Century Sporting Dogs, in which he describes an illuminated manuscript in the Bodleian Library. This is one of the few existing manuscripts of *The Master of Game*, the oldest hunting-book in English. This was the work of Edward, second Duke of York, in 1405, and contained five original chapters and a free translation of the earlier French work of Gaston de Foix. The miniatures in this *Master of Game* codex depict English hunting dogs of the time of the manuscript, about 1425. The *Gaston Phœbus* codex, in the Paris National Library, also gives types of hunting dogs of a quarter century earlier. From these illustrations (which are reproduced) and the descriptive text, Mr. Baillie Grohmann evolves the types of greyhound, mastiff and spaniel that were bred in France and England five hundred years ago.

LUDWIG SANDØE IPSSEN.

Charles Dexter Allen writes in the *Ex-Libris Journal* for May, of the work of Mr. L. S. Ipsen, a Danish-American architect and designer living in Boston, who has done good work in book-cover, poster, and book-plate designing. "Mr. Ipsen's work is strong and intelligent. He fits his designs to the studies or interests of the owners of his book-plates exceedingly well. . . All Mr. Ipsen's designs show most careful drawing and a sense of proportion too often lacking in modern book-plates—the result of his architectural training." A list of Ipsen's plates closes the article, three of the designs being reproduced.

REMINISCENCES OF SPENCER.

In the April-June *Forum* is printed a posthumous paper by Grant Allen, of personal reminiscences of Herbert Spencer. The article was written in 1894, but with the reservation that it should not be printed during Spencer's lifetime. Grant Allen himself died in 1899, and but for the thoughtfulness that prompted the writing of this paper *sine die*, the narration of his personal friendship with Spencer would never have been written.

Twenty years of more or less close intercourse allowed Allen to become well acquainted with the philosopher's personality, his wonderful mentality, his independent and upright habits of life and thought. "Taken as a whole, Spencer's life was a life of singular and single-minded devotion to a splendid aim. He gave up to his work health and strength, time and happiness. He lived wholly and solely for the one thing he had to do." A remarkable fact about his intellectual equipment is that Spencer never ac-

quired any foreign language. He balked at the Latin grammar in his school days, and never mastered the Greek alphabet or even learned to make himself understood in French.

THE LOST ART OF THE DAGUERROTYPE.

There is something particularly attractive about these earliest mechanical portraits of our immediate ancestors, and a paper on the daguerrotype's history by Abraham Bogardus, in the *May Century*, gives many interesting facts. Daguerre's discovery of a process by which he could "fix" the pictures of his camera obscura, occurred in 1839. Professor S. F. B. Morse immediately introduced the process, and his picture of the Church of the Messiah, on Broadway, was the first daguerrotype made in this country. Everybody was soon experimenting, the process having been published by the French Government—who pensioned Daguerre and his fellow-worker, Niepce. Walcott and Johnson established the first daguerrotype gallery in the world, in New York in 1840, and portraits soon became immensely popular.

"The daguerrotype was made on a pure metallic silver surface. After being perfectly cleaned, and made sensitive with a rouge puff, it was coated in a darkened room with the vapor of iodine, then placed in the camera, and exposed before the sitter through the lens. It was still kept from the light, and placed over the fumes of hot mercury, where the image developed."

Bromine vapor was soon added to the iodine, and this with other improvements brought down the time of exposure from three minutes to five seconds. "Although the photograph on paper has superseded the silver plate, yet, with many others, I consider the latter the best picture yet made with the camera. The daguerrotype is perfectly durable when it has been finished with a coating of chlorid of gold, as all good operators finished it. It may and does become tarnished by the atmosphere, but a person understanding the manner of removing the tarnish can restore it to its original perfection, and it will then remain good for future generations to enjoy." The writer is himself a veteran daguerrotyper and can tell many interesting things about the personal side of the art. The paper is illustrated with daguerrotypes of

Daguerre, Joseph H. Choate, Edward Noyes Westcott as a child, Mary Mapes Dodge, Edmund C. Stedman, and J. Lester and James W. Wallack, Jr.

THE FALL OF RICHARD THE SECOND.

One of the finest manuscripts in the Harleian collection is that of a history of Richard II., King of England, written by Jehan Creton, "varlet de chambre" of Charles VI. of France. The chronicle is in French, and largely in verse. There are several copies of it in the Bibliothèque Nationale, but the Harleian codex is the handsomest. "The text is written in a French court-hand of the first quarter of the fifteenth century, without ornamentation, except a few initial letters simply colored and gilt, which mark the openings of the principal sections of the work, and a border of ivy-leaf branches surrounding the first page." Sixteen miniatures are the finest feature of the manuscript, and these are reproduced in the May and June numbers of the *Burlington Magazine*, with a digest of the Chronicle which they illustrate and a description of the manuscript, by Sir. Edward Maunde Thompson.

JAPANESE WOMEN WRITERS.

Yone Noguchi, the Japanese poet, gives in the *May Critic* a sketch of the part women have taken in Japan's literary growth. In the Heian period (800-1186) there were women writers in Japan, but the influence of Chinese literature and Confucianism degraded women into slaves, and only to-day have they begun again to express themselves. "The eternally lamentable Ichiyo Higuchi," died about seven years ago, "in her tender twenty-fifth year." She left a book of exquisite short stories. Baroness Nakajima was the first woman lecturer, and an essayist and political power. Shizuko Wakamatsu, wife of the founder of a Japanese woman's college, and herself first woman graduate of Ferris Seminary, successfully translated *Little Lord Fauntleroy*, *Enoch Arden*, and other English works into Japanese. Kalio Zanabe and several other writers are mentioned, and their portraits reproduced. "And there are a hundred poetesses, though none of them has achieved any distinction."



Bibliomania in its literal sense seems to possess many Americans this year. The wonderful set of Dickens, of which no one knows much excepting that it costs \$130,000 and is advertised to be bound at the Trautz-Bauzonnet bindery, (whatever that may be,) and some others of its kind, have turned the heads of a number of people, with disastrous results. The suicide of Mr. Goodwin, after his heavy investment of misappropriated funds in unsalable editions de luxe, was the most tragic instance. Another Philadelphia man, Mr. Emil Scherr, subscribed for so many costly works that they brought about his bankruptcy. Within the past few weeks suits have been brought against several New York subscription publishers, by the son of an old lady, who has in the past two years subscribed for some \$250,000 worth of books, and who has recently been adjudged incompetent by the court. This lady, a Mrs. Blodgett, had been cajoled into buying, or contracting to buy, books to the value of nearly her whole estate. The list of her investments included three sets of Shakespeare, one at \$5,000, one at \$19,000, and an "illuminated" edition at \$78,000; three sets of Dickens, at \$1,800, \$2,700, and \$9,100, beside the two St. Dunstan illuminated Dickens' sets costing \$148,000; and various other sets of standard authors—the list in itself being sufficient evidence that the poor lady was wholly at the mercy of unscrupulous sellers. The various suits brought are for the purpose of cancelling all contracts and compelling the return of money already paid out, with interest.

As we often have inquiries from subscribers in different parts of the country that show the fake subscription book to flourish in all latitudes and longitudes, it may be well to quote the published statement of one of the lawyers prosecuting these suits:

"Experts who have seen the books sold Mrs. Blodgett and similar volumes, pronounce them to be cheap editions worked over with insertions of trashy material of one kind or another, calculated to impress weak imaginations. An 'Illustrated Shakespeare,' for instance, of

which a thousand copies may be bought tomorrow at department stores for two dollars a volume, may thus be 'limited' to ten or five copies or one copy. Names are also manufactured to order.

"A jobbing binder is employed who is complaisant enough to attach the name of any fictitious and non-existent bindery to this composite production, a price of five hundred, a thousand or two thousand dollars a volume is placed on the book, and the book agents call at the homes of the unwary wealthy, making special discounts in individual cases to any extent that may be necessary to a sale, the price being almost wholly profit, whatever be obtained.

"In some of the recent noted instances of these cheats, six purchasers out of seven have returned their volumes and the agents have not dared to bring any suits, being, in fact, contented with the profit made on the one."

There seems to be an endless harvest to be reaped by these frauds. And so confident are they that they can "fool some of the people all the time" that, although subscription sets have come up at recent auctions and have sold for less than ten per cent. of the prices paid for them, the publishers have not cared enough for their reputations to send bids that might keep up the apparent market value of their publications.

The copy of the first edition of the second part of Shakespeare's *Henry IV*, which sold at Sotheby's on April 23d for £1,035, comes to New York—indeed, England was left at the £500 mark, after which two Americans vied with each other in sending up the price. The copy is one of eight known of the second issue of 1600, with the omission of two leaves in the first issue corrected by a reprinted sheet having six leaves instead of four. Only three copies of the first issue are known. Of the second issue, one of the eight copies belongs to Mr. William A. White of Brooklyn, so the newly sold copy is the second to come to America.

A man with a nose for books recently came upon a pile of pamphlets in an Italian junk shop at Philadelphia, and paid two dollars for the lot. They turned out to be one hundred and thirty-five copies, in original sheets, stitched and uncut, of Charles Lamb's unsuccessful farce, *Mr. H; or Beware a Bad Name*. This little find disposes of one high-priced rarity. It was long supposed that only three copies remained. One was sold at Anderson's last year, in the original condition, for \$335.00. Another sold at the recent French-Chubbuck sale for \$170.00. And now one hundred and thirty-five copies have been purchased for two dollars, and several bibliomaniacs have been made very sorrowful. In London, *Mr. H* lived through only one performance; but in Philadelphia the farce, put on in September, 1811, had quite a long run. In 1813 it was first printed by Michael Carey, who called it "A farce in two acts, as performed at the Philadelphia theater." Lamb's name did not appear. Of the newly found copies, fifteen seem to have been stage copies. One bears the name of William B. Wood, the actor, another of Richard Penn Smith; while a third has special value from the inscription "Presented to E. A. Poe by his friend, Henry B. Hirst."

The Grolier Club has published an elaborate *Catalogue of an Exhibition of Original and Early editions of Italian Books*, the George A. Plympton collection, which was exhibited at the Grolier Club and at the Library of Congress, and has been presented to Wellesley College. The catalogue describes one hundred and three books, with many facsimiles of title pages and colophons, and bibliographical descriptions by Dr. Giuseppe Martini. There is a brief introduction by Miss Margaret H. Jackson, and an essay on Italian literature by F. Marion Crawford. Three hundred and six copies have been printed.

The Grolier Club has been having an exhibition of Whistler etchings and dry points, many of them being from the collection of Mr. Howard Mansfield. This complements the exhibition in 1900 of the lithographs of Whistler.

Whittier-Land is the title of a description of the old Whittier homestead and its surroundings, by the poet's old associate, Samuel T. Pickard. It has just been issued by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., issued in a duodecimo volume illustrated from photographs.

Mr. Henry Vignaud, First Secretary of the United States Embassy at Paris, has added another to the series of publications on Columbus which have made him well known to Americanists. Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, of London, have just published, in a limited edition, his *A Critical Study of the Various Dates*

Assigned to the Birth of Christopher Columbus.

The Acorn Club of Connecticut has just issued its ninth publication entitled *List of Books Printed in Connecticut, 1709-1800*. Its compiler, the late Hon. James Hammond Trumbull of Hartford, began to gather the material for this work about 1860 and had practically completed the task more than twenty-five years ago. It contains the titles of 1738 books and pamphlets; broadsides and session laws not being included. Following the text, in addition to a general index of persons and places and a list of printers, seventy in number, are a "chronological list" showing which books were printed during each year and an "imprint list," showing which books were printed each year by each printer in each town.

The work forms a quarto volume of 266 pages handsomely printed upon hand-made paper manufactured especially for this book and carrying the Club's name in watermark, and is issued in an edition of 102 copies.

The Connecticut Historical Society, which has already issued one volume of *Rolls of Connecticut Men in the French and Indian War*, covering the years 1755-1757, has now in press a second volume which will contain the rolls for 1758-1762.

The Philadelphia *Post* has a story about Eugene Field, which is too good to escape repetition. One of his favorite jokes, it relates, "was to enter a bookshop where he was not known and ask in the solemnest manner for an expurgated edition of Mrs. Hemans's poems. One day in Milwaukee he was walking along the street with his friend, George Yenowine, when the latter halted in front of a bookshop and said: 'Gene, the proprietor of this place is the most serious man I ever knew. He never saw a joke in his life. Wouldn't it be a good chance to try again for that expurgated Mrs. Hemans?' Without a word Field entered, asked for the proprietor, and then made the usual request. 'That is a rather scarce book,' came the reply. 'Are you prepared to pay a fair price for it?' For just a second Field was taken aback; then he said: 'Certainly, certainly; I—I know it's rare.' The man stepped to a case, took out a cheaply bound volume, and handed it to Field, saying: 'The price is \$5.' Field took it nervously, opened to the title page, and read in correct print: 'The Poems of Mrs. Felicia Hemans. Selected and Arranged with All Objectionable Passages Excised by George Yenowine, Editor of 'Isaac Watts for the Home,' 'The Fireside Hannah More,' etc.,' with the usual publisher's name and date at the bottom. Field glanced up at the bookseller. He stood there the very picture of sad solemnity. 'I'll take it,' said Field, faintly,

producing the money. Outside Yenowine was missing. At his office the boy said that he had just left, saying that he was going to Standing Rock, Dak., to keep an appointment with Sitting Bull."

The Boston Book Company has reprinted in a 26-page pamphlet, Mr. Frederick W. Faxon's *Ephemeral Bibelots; a Bibliography of the Modern Chap-Books and Their Imitators*, which first appeared in numbers of the *Bulletin of Bibliography*. The large army of little "freak magazines" that flourished at the end of the century, has few survivors. They were a fad, and had no reason for continued existence though amusing for a little while. The reason for compiling their bibliography is thus given by Mr. Faxon: "Hardly any one now collects these publications, and unless the names, and the dates of their births and deaths are somewhere recorded, no future collector will ever be able to obtain accurate information concerning this large, somewhat useless, but very interesting class of periodicals."

The Grolier Club has decided on most of its publications for next season. The first will be a continuation of a publication which the Club began in 1893—a *Catalogue of Original and Early Editions of English Authors*. The first volume was compiled by Mr. E. H. Bierstadt, who had at the time of his death, in 1896, gathered the material for three more volumes, extending the work to the eighteenth century. Mr. Marshall C. Lefferts and Mr. Beverly Chew have now prepared these remaining volumes for publication. The first will appear early in the fall.

A special edition of Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter* is among the Club's probabilities, if the Boughton illustrations are ready in time; also a life of Grolier, translated and revised by Baron Portalis from *Le Roux de Lincy's Recherches sur Jean Grolier*, published in 1866.

It pains us to find that a man who was recently arrested for stealing rare books from the libraries of New York and Brooklyn was found to be using THE LITERARY COLLECTOR as a guide by which to carry on his felonious profession intelligently—purloining those items which our Current Book Prices suggested as profitable, and disposing of them advantageously to some of our unsuspecting advertisers. To what base uses may even a serious-minded bibliographical periodical descend! The omniscient New York newspaper which gave the fullest details of the capture of the book-thief, imparted the information that at a Twenty-Third Street bookshop the man "had offered for sale a rare book, entitled *American Book-Prices Current*, which was published by Luther S. Livingston, in 1895, and is valued at

\$50." This is a valuation that will interest collectors.

Mr. James Becks, an old American actor, died last month in St. Louis; and it is found that he had bequeathed to the New York Public Library his collection of three thousand prompt books. A large number of these manuscript volumes are in the hands of Booth, Forrest, Garrick, Macready and other famous American and English actors, and their value to theatrical history is great. The donor's wish was that his collection might go where it would be most easily accessible for practical use by American actors.

The Library of Congress has issued in pamphlet form a *Select List of References on Chinese Immigration*, compiled under the direction of A. P. C. Griffin, Chief of the Division of Bibliography. It contains a list of books on the subject, of Government reports of debates in Congress, and of magazine articles from 1852 to 1903—thirty-two pages of references in chronological arrangement.

The Stamp-Fiend's Raid is a satire in verse by W. E. Imeson, illustrated with pen-and-ink sketches by the author, and published in London by Horace Cox. It treats of the foibles of the collector, whether of stamps, books, book-plates or what not, and has some amusing lines and sketches.

The second volume of Mr. E. R. J. Gambier-Howe's *Catalogue of the Franks Collection of Book-Plates* has been issued. It embraces the letters H to R, in the same admirable scheme of arrangement shown in the first volume. The third volume, completing the work, is expected to appear before the summer's end.

A recent book-plate designed by F. Y. Cory for J. Campbell Cory, the cartoonist, portrays the owner perched on a high stool, up to the eyes in a big book, while the spiders weave a web unharmed among his legs and neglected reference books. The design is lettered with these shockingly Calvinistic lines:

"To ony literary friend
This bonny book I'll blythly lend
Till a' its contents he has kened
Wi' plenty time to learn it.
But may the de'il, wi' fiendish yell,
Wi' barbed fork and sulphur smell,
Lang roast the carl in hottest Hell
Neglecting to return it

To
J. Campbell Cory.

W. Porter Truesdell is publishing, at the Troutdale Press, Malden, Mass., some compila-

tions of American book-plates. *The Book-Plates of Edmund H. Garrett*, with text by William Howe Downes, will appear July 1, in an edition of two hundred and thirty-five copies. *A List of J. Winfred Spenceley's Etched and Engraved Book-Plates*, with an introduction by Pierre de Chaignon la Rose, is now in press.

R. L. Hobson, of the British Museum, has prepared *A Catalogue of English Poetry in the Department of British and Mediæval Antiquities and Ethnography*, profusely illustrated, which is in the hands of Henry Frowde. It contains a useful technical introduction.

The Ex-Libris Club of Boston is to print a volume by Henry H. Harper, on *Booklovers, Bibliomaniacs and Book Clubs*, with illustrations from pen and ink drawings.

Dr. Morris Jastrow's *Dictionary of the Talmud* has just been published by G. P. Putnam's Sons. It occupies 1,750 pages and covers all Jewish literature in the Hebrew and Aramaic languages between the years 200 B. C. and 800 A. D. It is literally the work of a life-time and the final proofs were corrected by Dr. Jastrow but a few days before his death last October.

Dutton & Co. are the American publishers of Professor Arber's *An English Garner; Gatherings from English History and Literature*, which is soon to be issued in twelve volumes. The Elizabethan sonnets occupy the first two volumes, with a historical and critical introduction by Sidney Lee.

Messrs. Bell & Sons' *Chiswick Library of Noble Authors* now includes More's *Utopia*, with Roper's *Life of More*. The *Life* is printed from a revised text taken from the four Harleian manuscripts. Huth's portrait of More is used as a frontispiece, and the volume is finely printed from Caslon type, uniform with the previous volumes.

Two volumes of *New Letters of Thomas Carlyle*, edited and annotated by Alexander Carlyle, are published by John Lane. These are largely family letters, giving added insight to the personality of the philosopher.

A finely illustrated work on *The Initials and Miniatures of the Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh centuries from the Mozarabic Manuscripts of San Domingo de Silos*, has been compiled by Archer M. Huntington, the Spanish scholar. The illustrations, reproduced from the collection in the British Museum, are very interesting to students of design.

The Cambridge University Press is publishing a complete edition of Beaumont and Fletcher's

works, from the text of the second folio. Appendices will give the variations in reading to be found in the first folio and quartos.

Wales will ultimately have a fine public library of Welsh manuscripts. Sir John Williams, who owns the Welsh collection of Shirburn Castle, has now bought the Pemarth library, an unequalled collection of Welsh manuscripts, and intends leaving them to a national library. Mr. J. H. Davies, another Welsh bibliophile, purposes doing likewise with his own fine collection.

Methuen & Co. have published *The Praise of Shakespeare; an English Anthology*, compiled by C. E. Hughes. It is a collection of extracts from writers from Shakespeare's time to ours, at least half the selection being from nineteenth century sources. There is a preface by Sidney Lee.

Edmund Gosse has added a biography of Jeremy Taylor to the English men of letters series.

American Book Prices Current for 1903-4 will be issued by Dodd, Mead & Co., in September, in an edition limited by the number of subscriptions received before publication.

On July 4 we celebrate this year not only our national independence but also the centennial of the birth of our first great American novelist, Nathaniel Hawthorne. Many celebrations have been planned, at Salem, Boston, Lenox and Concord. Essex Institute and the Salem City Counsel have planned a joint celebration at Cadet Hall, Salem, on June 23. A loan collection of Hawthorne souvenirs and relics is being gathered at the Institute; a reunion of the Hawthorne family takes place in the morning; and an inscribed tablet is to be placed in the Town House Square pavement to mark the site of the Old Town Pump. Bowdoin College, from which he graduated in 1825, holds its commencement exercises on June 22, and Bliss Perry delivers a Hawthorne oration. It is planned to erect at Bowdoin a statue representing Hawthorne as he left college, and subscriptions are being received for that purpose. At Concord on July 4 a memorial stone will be unveiled with a literary program.

New Sayings of Jesus and Fragments of a Lost Gospel from Oxyrhynchus is published by Henry Frowde. The excavations on the site of Oxyrhynchus, a chief city of ancient Egypt, brought to light, among other Greek papyri, a page of a book containing some sayings of Jesus, which were published by Frowde under the title *Sayings of Our Lord*. Further excavations last year discovered a fragment of forty-

two lines, on the back of a land-survey list. This second fragment contains the introduction to the whole collection and resembles the first leaf in style and arrangement. Both fragments seem to belong to the third century. They have been edited, with translation and commentary, by Doctors B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt, their discoverers.

An unusual public document is in preparation at Washington for distribution through Congress. This is a facsimile of the compilation of "The Life and Morals of Jesus of Nazareth. Extracted textually from the Gospels in Greek, Latin, French and English," made by Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson's idea was to form a continuous narrative of the life of Christ for translation into the Indian languages. From versions of the New Testament in four languages he clipped the vital passages, pasting them in four columns across the open pages of an octavo blank book, with references and annotations, a concordance of the texts, and citation of the Roman law under which Christ was tried. The result is a concise narrative with all extraneous matter cut out, in the four chosen languages. The Indian translation, however, was never made, and the original, in the National Museum, has been for some time withdrawn from exhibition. The photographic facsimile will doubtless arouse much interest.

The American Library Association is planning a new periodical, for the candid and unprejudiced evaluation of current literature. The publishing board is considering the matter, and may put the project into execution. The idea is to establish an independent magazine of criticism which will be of timely practical use to the librarian in selecting new books. The reviews will probably be written by librarians, and will be independent of publishing interests. The plan is as yet very indefinite, but has been in contemplation for some time, and seems now to be a possibility, financially.

The American Library Association will hold its annual meeting much later than usual this year, convening at St. Louis on October 17. Several State association meetings will be held in the state buildings during the same week. The programs have not yet been published, but the prospect is for a very large attendance and interesting discussions.

Library week at St. Louis will also be made the occasion for the organization of an American Bibliographical Society. The Bibliographical Society of Chicago, with the coöperation of other bibliographers, have chosen an organization committee consisting of Worthington C. Ford, Chairman; George Watson Cole, Secretary; and Wilberforce Eames, Aksel G. S. Jos-

ephson and Azariah S. Root. This committee will call a meeting at St. Louis, and it is hoped that the response will be of sufficient heartiness to result in the formation of a strong and active society.

A loan exhibition of portraits of English historical personages who died before the year 1625, has recently been held by the Oxford Historical Society. An illustrated catalogue containing photogravure reproductions of the most important portraits is being printed at the Oxford University Press. It is probable that further exhibits and catalogues will bring the series down to modern times and form a valuable historical portrait collection.

The *Novoe Vremya* describes the work of the Pushkin Society in supplying literature to Russian field hospitals during the present war with Japan. Mindful of the fact that educated men are often at a loss, when lying ill or wounded, because they can find nothing to read, the Society sends out libraries of two sorts, suitable for officers and for privates, enclosing each in a box. These are distributed among the field hospitals and can be exchanged.

An address on *Friends of the City of New York in the Nineteenth Century*, delivered in April, 1902, at the Friends' Meeting House in Gramercy Park, by William H. S. Wood, has now been privately printed in pamphlet form. Mr. Wood is the senior member of the publishing firm of William Wood & Co., and it is natural that his recollections should include many Friends connected with the business of making and selling books. His own ancestor, Samuel Wood, started a book shop in Pearl Street in 1804, from which grew the present medical publishing house headed by William H. S. Wood. Isaac Collins, crown printer to the Province of New Jersey, printer of the "shin-plasters" of that province and later, in 1791, of the first English quarto Bible in America, was the first of a line of Collinses who have made or sold books in New York ever since. George F. Cooleage, for many years publisher of Webster's Spelling Book, was disowned by the Society of Friends. He added the pursuit of note broker to his publishing business, and to advertise his brokerage office erected on the sidewalk a barber's pole with a sign announcing himself as a "note shaver."

Lindley Murray, the grammarian, was also a prominent New York Quaker, and Mr. Wood mentions other lesser literary lights. The simplicity of the Friends' religion was never made an excuse for lack of education, and the Society in New York as elsewhere has been one of the forces that make for culture, education and a love of books.

CURRENT BOOK PRICES

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Books from George Washington's Library at Mount Vernon.

- American Museum; or Universal Magazine. Issues for Sept, 1789, Jan, 1791 (with Bushrad Washington's Autograph), Dec, 1791, Jan, Feb, March, April, May, Nov. and Dec. 1792. Bound in 1 vol. Phila., 1789-92. 21.00
- Bee (The); or Literary Weekly Intelligencer. By James Anderson, LL.D. Vol. XV. George Washington's copy with his autograph on title-page. Edinburgh, 1793. 85.00
- Browne, Arthur. A Compendius View of the Civil Law. "To His Excellency Gen'l. Washington with the utmost respect this book is humbly presented, by the author." Dublin, 1797. 21.00
- Buffon, Georges L. L., Count De. Natural History, Abridged. Copper-plate engravings. 2 vols. Washington's Autograph on the Title-page of each volume. London, 1792. 132.00
- Burn Richard. The Justice of the Peace and Parish Officer. 11th edition. Vols. 1, 3 and 4. 3 vols. London, 1770. 15.00
- Clark Matthew. Charts of the Coast of America from Cape Breton to the entrance of the Gulf of Mexico. 18 large folding charts, some colored. Folio, boards. Boston (1789). 26.00
- European Magazine. Issue for May, 1793, preceded by two leaves, "Proposals," etc. London, 1793. 7.00
- Gibbon, Edward. The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. 6 vols, old tree calf. London, 1783. Washington's Autograph on the title-page of every vol. except the first and book-plate in each vol. 1626.00
- Harris, John. Lexicon Technicum Magnum. London (circa 1705). 7.00
- Homer. The Odyssey of Homer. Translated from the Greek. Port. and plates. 5 vols, old calf. London, 1758. 22.50
- The Iliad of Homer. Translated by Alexander Pope. Vol. 1. Old calf. London, 1756. 7.00
- Jeffery's, Thomas. A General Topography of North America and the West Indies. 93 folding maps, plans and views. Every map is numbered by Washington himself. Folio. London, 1768. 130.00
- Locke, John. An Essay Concerning Human Understanding. In four books. Portrait, 2 vols, sheep. Washington's Autograph and Book-plate in each volume. London, 1775. 650.00
- Mackintosh, Sir James. Vindiciæ Gallicæ. (Portion of a letter of Sir James Mackintosh inserted, also a superscription of a letter by him.) Presented to Washington in May, 1791, by Samuel Vaughan of London. Lond., 1791. 35.00
- Mawe, Thomas. The Universal Gardener and Botanist; or, A General Dictionary of Gardening and Botany. By Thos. Mawe and John Abercrombie. 4to, sprinkled calf. George Washington's copy, with his Autograph on title-page. London, 1778. 230.00
- Melfort, M. Le Comte Drummond De. Traité sur La Cavalerie. Text and plates. Folio and atlas folio, mottled calf, gilt back, red edges. (Some pages and plates stained, and some plates pieced and repaired.) 2 vols. George Washington's copy, with his book-plate. Presented by the Count de Rochambeau. Paris, 1776. 20.00
- Muir, James, D.D. An Examination of the Principles contained in the "Age of Reason." Contains a book-plate, but apparently not an original impression. Baltimore, 1795. 25.00
- Nicola, Major Lewis. A Treatise on the Military Service of Light Horse and Light Infantry, in the field, and in fortified places. Translated from the French of Major-General De Grandmaison. Included in the inventory

- of Washington's personal effects. Phila., Robert Bell, 1777. 27.00
- Pamphlets. A Letter from the Right Hon. Charles James Fox to the Worthy and independent Electors of the City and Liberty of Westminster, London, 1793; Resolutions, Declaration, etc., on the liberty of the Press, by Hon. Thomas Erskine and Thomas Law, Esq., London, 1793; considerations on false and real alarms, by Col. Norman MacLeod, M.P., London, 1794; peace and reform against war and corruption, by Daniel Stuart, London, 1794. 8vo (covers off). Washington's autograph on title-page, presentation inscription: "Respectfully offered to General Washington by his faithful and obliged servant, Norman MacLeod, M.P., Great Britain, 1795." London, 1793-1794. 131.00
- Price, Uvedale. An Essay on the Picturesque, as compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful. 2 vols. Presentation inscription "From the Author." London, 1796. 40.00
- Sentimental and Masonic Magazine. From July, 1792, to Dec, 1794, inclusive. Vols. 1-V. Charming oval pictures, in brown tints, 5 vols, old tree calf. Washington's Autograph on title-page of each volume. A particularly rare magazine, presented to Gen. Washington by its proprietor, John Jones. Dublin, 1792-1794. 330.00
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- Vallancey, Captain Charles. An Essay on Fortification: With a Supplement, containing Marshal Saxe's New System of Fortification, and construction of Wooden Forts. Translated from the French. 16 folding copperplates. 8vo, old calf. Washington's autograph on title-page. Dublin, 1757. 325.00
- Virginia. Acts of the General Assembly, 10 George III, with an index. Williamsburg: Printed by William Rind, Printer to the Colony, 1770. 12.00
- Acts of the General Assembly, 11 and 12 Georges III., with an index. In one vol. Williamsburg: Printed by William Rind, Printer to the Colony, 1771. 19.00
- Acts passed at a General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia. Autograph of Bushrod Washington. Richmond: Printed by John Dixon, Printer to this Commonwealth (1791). 20.00
- Volney, M. The Ruins; or, A Survey of the Revolutions of Empires. Translated from the French. Second edition. Engraved frontispiece and two folding maps. 8vo, old tree calf. Washington's Autograph on the title-page. Purchased by him from Robert Campbell, Nov. 23, 1795. Lond., 1795. 195.00
- Washington, George. Official Letters to the Honorable American Congress, written during the war between the united colonies and Great Britain, by His Excellency George Washington, Commander-in-Chief of the Continental forces, now President of the United States. Copied, by special permission, from original papers preserved in the office of the Secretary of State, Philadelphia. Edited by John Carey, LL.D., who sent two copies of his work to Gen. Washington. One was sold in Phila. in 1895 for \$1,650. This copy contains manuscript remarks (3 pp.) at end, as well as a large number of marginal explanations, which were communicated by this method from the Editor to Gen. Washington. Autograph of W. on each title, and also the names of Gnl. Turner, 1834, and H. S. Turner. Washington's own copy of his official letters to Congress. 2 vols. London, 1795. 2,810.00
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- Armstrong, John. The Art of Preserving Health: a Poem. Paper wrappers, uncut, pp. 88. London: printed; Phila. Re printed, and sold by B. Franklin, MDCCXLV (1745). 15.00
- Arndt, Johann. Des Hoherleuchteten Theologi, Herrn Johann Arndts, Weiland General-Superintendenten des Fürstenthums Lüneburg, ec. Sämtliche Sechs geistreiche Bücher vom Wahren Christenthum. Neue Auflage mit Kupfern, Samt Richtigen Anmerkungen, Krafftigen Gebetern über alle Capitel, und einem sechsfachen Register, Original calf, with clasps. Engraved title and 54 plates (should be 65), doubtless imported from Germany. pp. 1356. (Text slightly damaged.) Phila., gedruckt und verlegt bey Benjamin Francklin und Johann Böhn, 1751. 20.00
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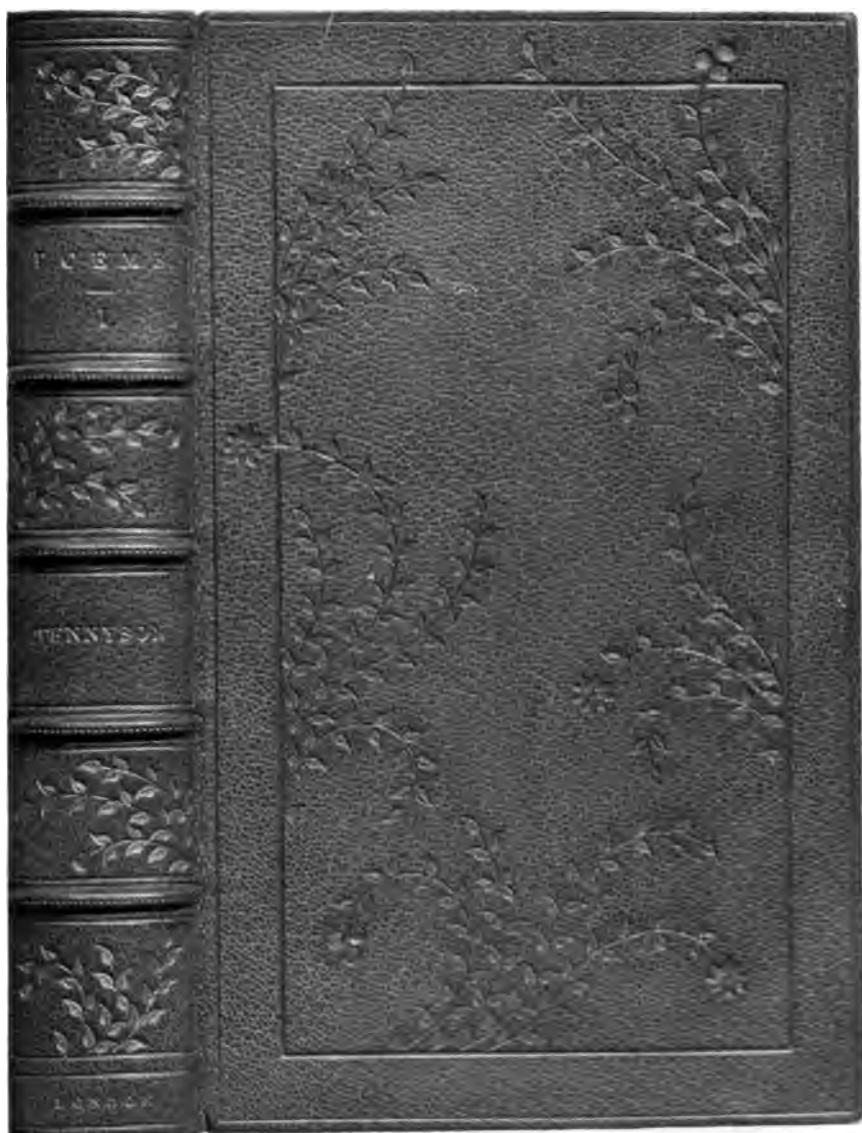
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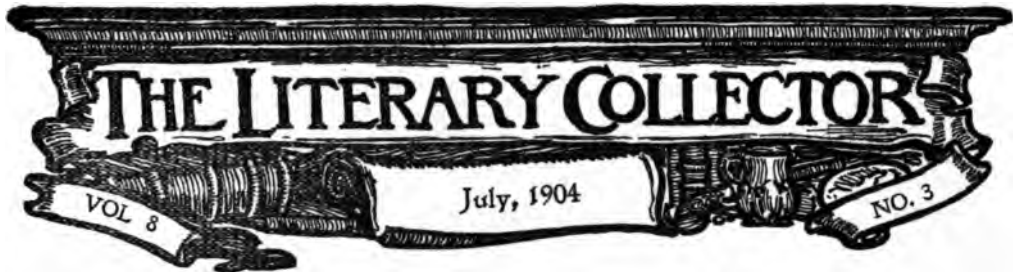


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THE HOME AND BIRTHPLACE OF WHITTIER

BY GEORGE F. CARTER

I love the old melodious lays
That softly melt the ages through,
The songs of Spencer's golden days,
Arcadian Sidney's silvery phrase,
Sprinkling our noon of time with freshest
morning dew.

SO SANG our good Quaker poet, and if, indeed, he lived in the noon of time, yet his tent was pitched in a land on which the freshness of morning still lay resplendent. It was a land, too, that had formed for many years one of the outposts of our infant civilization and was already rich with story and tradition, with many an Indian legend and many a dark tale of the border warfare waged with the crafty red men. The Valley of the Merrimac, so rich in all the associations connected with the early history of New England, through Whittier's magic pen became, indeed, a "storied vale."

In the natural course of events a great deal has been said and the last

word is as yet far from having been spoken on the relative standing of our American authors, each of whom has his circle of ardent admirers who build to him a shrine before which they worship with more or less of fervid devotion. There are scoffers, too, abroad, who throw stones at the shrines and deride the worshippers.

Longfellow, we are told, is one of the most universally read of the modern poets, better known in England than even Tennyson himself; and the story is related of certain travellers of different nationalities meeting aboard a Mediterranean steamer and each reciting a favorite passage from Longfellow's poems. Against this we have the dictum of a college professor that the poet was really not a poet at all, and his verses mere milk and water scribblings. Whittier, we are likewise informed, was very little of a poet, and his literary accomplishments are subordinated to those of authors

of whom, perhaps, we have never heard, whose poetry we have never read and, no doubt, we gladly render up thanks we are not obliged to read.

There is abundant evidence, however, that Whittier himself did not place too high an estimate on his own poetic abilities and that he was quite alive to the extent of his limitations as a poet.

I am well aware that pecuniary success is the very least, not to say the very lowest, criterion on which to base a critical judgment, yet when, in the course of twenty-six years, a goodly fortune based on poetry alone is accumulated, it is incontestable evidence that the author had won the hearts of an audience of most enviable proportions and one which embraced the great, uncritical mass of his fellow countrymen. To such an audience John Greenleaf Whittier spoke, uttering in simple, homely phraseology, in the form that came most easily to him, those earnest words of love and truth and comfort that found an answering chord, somewhere, in every human heart. Indeed, in this power to reach and hold the attention of men in the more ordinary walks of life and to attune his song to their understanding he may well be likened to Burns, to whom he also bore, if we may judge by certain of his portraits, a strong facial resemblance.

"Poets are born, not made," and I am sure it would be hard to find, after diligent search, a more alluring and inspiring place for the cradle of a future poet than the Whittier homestead in East Haverhill. In this part of the

old Bay State all the land in its westward sweep from the granite-bound shore of the Atlantic is broken and rolling in character, with every little while one of the softly rounded knolls rising abruptly into preëminence. From the summits of these higher hills the eye ranges over a vast and varied scene of wood and plain and far off ocean and mountain, with the silver gleam of rivers threading, as through a maze, their winding journey to the sea.

It is in a hollow at the foot of one of these great hills that the old Whittier house nestles, a plain, solidly built frame structure that is now in its third century. The front door opens on a small hallway from which a remarkably steep flight of stairs ascends to the second story. On either hand are doors opening into fair sized square rooms, that to the right being the family sitting-room, while the room on the left was used either as a parlor or bedroom as necessity dictated. In it Whittier was born. But the entrance generally used is at the east side of the house and leads directly into the main room of the dwelling—the kitchen. This room, thirty feet long, with a great open fire-place with fire-dogs and swinging crane, amply sufficed for the indoor life of a large family when domestic industry covered a wide field—when flax was spun and tallow candles dipped.

In the far corner of this room, up a pair of steps, is a tiny chamber known as "mother's room," and used by the poet's mother. It still contains her bedstead and bureau and there you

are now shown some of the fine linen "baby clothes" worn by the poet and his ancestors. The puzzling difference in the floor level of this room is owing to the determination of the builders of the house to locate the milk-room, or dairy, in the northwest or coolest corner of the cellar, but in the process of excavating solid rock was reached in this corner only a few feet beneath the surface and as the idea of locating the milk-room in that spot could not be abandoned, the difficulty was surmounted—with true American ingenuity—by raising the floor over that section of the cellar. The scheme, of course, had to be carried right on up into the second story and so we find it also necessary to take a step up on entering the little room over "mother's room." This room was occupied by Whittier and his brother. Just by "mother's room" is a passage from which a door opens to the west into the flower garden. From this passage there is also a second flight of steep stairs leading to the floor above.

There is another room in the second story which the poet's sisters Elizabeth and Mary occupied, and a large open space, of much use as a store-room and where hired hands slept when their help was required by reason of an extra pressure of farm work. Elizabeth Whittier was full of fun, and on one of these occasions, when a couple of young men had been employed, she enlivened the evening gathering around the open fire on the hearth by telling ghostly tales. The two lads, however, stoutly declared that they could not be frightened by

anything so unsubstantial as ghosts. Elizabeth at once determined to put their skepticism to the test and so, in the midnight hours when ghosts are wont to walk and all the house was steeped in slumber, she softly opened her door and threw pins, one by one, in the direction of the couch occupied by the young men. Firmly convinced by this disturbance of their rest that the house was haunted, they passed a fearsome night, and nothing could induce them to continue their stay another day.

On the southern slope of the rising ground at the rear of the house is an apple orchard and a little farther on a small square of ground, enclosed by a stone wall, wherein are buried the poet's ancestors. In the centre stands a plain granite monument erected by Whittier, but otherwise the graves are unmarked. Whittier himself lies buried in the cemetery at Amesbury, and just behind the headstone of his grave the arbor vitæ hedge that surrounds the plot is so despoiled by memento seekers as to need constant replanting.

A little rivulet comes gurgling down over the stones in a wooded dell to the west of the poet's birthplace, its banks mossy and fern-grown. It is just from one particular point along this little stream that the view described in the ballad "Telling the Bees" can be observed. Doubtless the rivulet was a favorite place for play with the Whittier children and this view must have impressed itself on the future poet, to be limned in many years after in his poem of the quaint

old death custom of "telling the bees." The poem also tells how the tossing horns of the cattle in the barnyard could be seen. Whittier, himself, never told from whence the view described in this poem was to be seen, but, years after it was written, a friend found the spot and claimed from Whittier a surprised assent.

The barn, with its yard, lies to the east of the house across the county road and is a large structure with a runway through the centre and, for part of the distance, stalls on either side. There is a basement beneath where the cattle and pigs were housed. This is the barn to which, as Whittier has described, he and his brother upon one occasion tunnelled their way through the snow to feed the animals imprisoned by the storm. Elsewhere in this part of New England, in order to meet just such an emergency, many of the barns are connected with the dwellings either by a short covered passage, or, more frequently, are directly joined to the house.

I draw my own recollections of the homestead from a warm September day, one of those ideal days when Summer lingers as loath to bid farewell. All the air was sweet with an indefinable perfume, and this soft, sweet air and the sunshine came freely in through the open doors and windows, while everywhere in the house were freshly culled flowers, dahlias, asters and wide, low bowls filled with pink clover. And the thought came with insistent force that to the poetic temperament of Whittier, with his great love of nature, the change to

the cramped little house at Amesbury must have come with a never ending sense of loss.

In the years that he lived there the beauties of the old homestead sank deep into his soul and proved a well from which he drew many an inspiration in after days. All the memories of the place lay clear in his mind and when the time came he wove them into *Snowbound*, a poem which, in its own way, has no equal in the English language. A poem so wonderfully replete with life and reality that under its influence we indeed live over again with Whittier all the scenes of his childhood. We see the snow come whirling down, for us the fire roars up the huge chimney, for us the rows of apples toast, it is with him we creep to bed and hear the timbers creak and groan, and when the morning comes we see, with him, the world transformed with snow. And so at last out of the old homestead came the inspiration that gave the poet fame and fortune and furnished forth the best picture extant of the New England country life of a hundred years ago.

In the Fall of 1902 the house was partially destroyed by fire. But the great oak beams burned slowly and the firemen from Haverhill arrived in time to save a portion of the building. There was also time to save all the heirlooms of the Whittier family which had been gathered together there.

The work of restoration has been skillfully done. Mr. A. A. Ordway, the President of the Whittier Birthplace Association, and a most enthu-

siastic admirer of the poet, had photographed the house from every point of view both inside and out. These photographs were an invaluable aid in the rebuilding, enabling the workmen to duplicate in every essential particular all those portions which the flames had destroyed.

At the present time the ride from the homestead to Amesbury takes about half an hour by the electric railway, but in Whittier's early days it was necessary to depend on horse and carriage to make the trip, and in severe Winter weather the roads were often impassible. The nearest Quaker meeting was then, and still is, in Amesbury and the journey to the latter place to attend meeting was a most unpleasant one for the poet's delicate mother and sister during many months of the year. Thus, though it was the physical inability of Whittier to work the farm that made the disposal of it a necessity, the determining cause that led them to settle in Amesbury, after the farm had been finally sold, was the presence there of the meeting house, the place of worship in which the family had sought divine inspiration for many years.

Accordingly a very small cottage was purchased on Friend street and the transition made from broad acres to a long, narrow town yard and from the wide-spaced yet drafty rooms of the old home to the more cosy but cramped quarters in town.

Whittier afterward, at different times, added largely to the original dwelling, so that the present good-sized house is built around and over

the old one. The old rooms, however, remain unaltered and the poet's bedroom and the "garden room" are just as he left them. The present hall was the kitchen of the old house and contains a large open fireplace, though in no way does it compare in size with the one at the birthplace. To the right of the hall, as you enter, is the parlor, in which are pictures of Whittier's mother and sister and the desk upon which *Snowbound* was written. The desk is an old-fashioned affair, with a cupboard below and glass-enclosed shelves above for books. The writing shelf is very narrow and is hinged in the middle so as to fold back upon itself. A still older desk, upon which the poet's first verses were written, stands just within the entrance to the kitchen at the birthplace and on it now lies the book in which visitors inscribe their names.

The "garden room" opens out of a small passage at the rear of the main hall. At the far side is a Franklin stove, while the recesses formed by the chimney breast are filled, on the one side by the poet's desk and on the other by a set of bookshelves. These were formerly open, but since Whittier's death have been closed in with glass doors to protect the books from overmuch handling. A lounge, a small table and a few chairs, together with a number of pictures, complete the furnishing of the room. On the desk is a small miniature of Evelina Bray, one of the poet's earliest loves. A very sweet girlish face looks out of the frame and the dark hair is crowned with a wreath of flowers.

The poet's biographer, Mr. Samuel T. Pickard, tells us that Whittier was very much alive to the charms of the gentler sex and formed several close attachments in his youthful days. Curiously the women who most attracted him were all outside the Society of Friends. As such a marriage would have given great pain to his mother and sister and as his means at this time were also exceedingly slender and he wore no magic mirror wherein was reflected the brilliant future of the years to come, all thoughts in this line were abandoned or came to naught.

The following lines, however, which have never before been printed, will show that the "self-imposed chains" of matrimony would not have been altogether unwelcome. They were written for the marriage of his friend Theodore D. Weld, who, it would seem, had made a pact with the poet to remain single. They also show the humorous vein into which Whittier could drop upon occasion.

Alack and alas! that a brother of mine,
 A bachelor sworn on celibacy's altar,
 Should leave me to watch by the desolate shrine,
 And stoop his own neck to the enemy's halter!
 Oh! the treason of Benedict Arnold were better
 Than the scoffing at Love, and then *sub rosa*
 wooing;
 This mocking at beauty, yet wearing her
 fetter—
 Alack and alas for such bachelor doing!

Oh the weapons of Saul are the Philistine's
 prey,
 Who shall stand when the heart of the cham-
 pion fails him;
 Who strive when the mighty his shield casts
 away,

And yields up his post when a woman assails
 him?

Alone and despairing thy brother remains
 At the desolate shrine where we stood up
 together,
 Half tempted to envy thy self-imposed chains,
 And stoop his own neck for the noose of the
 tether.

The "garden room" windows look out upon the long yard in the rear of the house. Pear and apple and some ornamental trees and shrubs grow in the yard, and in one part there is a plot of old-fashioned flowers. A walk runs down its centre and in some places the ground is carpeted with myrtle. The house stands at the intersection of two streets and in front and at the side are some huge elm and maple trees. A trumpet creeper climbs up one side of the dwelling, clinging tenderly about one of the windows of the poet's bedchamber.

This room is directly over the "garden room" and is a tiny chamber with hardly place for more than a bedstead, bureau and washstand. A narrow bookcase stands, however, in the one remaining available space.

In fact, the house is full of books, for, besides those already mentioned, there is a large and well filled bookcase in the lower hall and they are stowed away in every conceivable nook from cellar to attic. Whittier's own choice ran largely to books of travel, but there are also many volumes of prose and poetry by the more famous of his contemporaries. He was the recipient, too, of numberless volumes from the lesser lights and from those who were no lights at all—dark stars—in the world of literature.

This seems to be one of the debts which literary eminence pays to fame.

He was fond, as I have said, of books of travel, for they brought all the world to his fireside, from which his bodily ills never permitted him to journey far. In the Summer season he would make short trips to the nearby beaches of Hampton and Newburyport, to the Isles of Shoals, the mountains of southern New Hampshire, or to where Cape Ann juts her granite ledges far into the blue Atlantic and crowns them with a lavish wealth of wild roses. He said these Summer trips furnished him with rich material for fireside reveries in the long Winter evenings, and we may find them, too, all woven into his poems.

Amesbury lies on the River Powow just above its junction with the Merrimac. It is not quite like the usual conception of a town, for while there is to be sure a central, compactly built-up portion, yet out from this, long streets well lined with dwellings go meandering forth with broad acres of well-tilled farmland between them. Po hill rises abruptly from the northern end of Amesbury, a softly rounded mount, the highest for miles around. The climb to its summit is well repaid by the superb view that breaks upon the vision in every direction, from the glistening waters of Ipswich and Gloucester bays to the blue summits of far off mountains in the north.

All nature was as an open book to Whittier and the close communion of a long life spent with her in all her varying moods is reflected in nearly every poem he ever wrote. But, wide

as was his love of still life, he bore a still larger love for and a wider interest in his fellowmen. He was an expert politician and the usual gathering around the stove of the country store held many attractions for him. I do not suppose they bothered him with overmuch homage, for no man of course is ever a prophet in his own country. The homage payers came from afar. The worst were those who insisted on talking poetry to him until, in utter disgust, he would take them out in the streets and try to lose them. Yet his general preference for the society of his fellowmen can best be expressed in an extract from a letter in which he says: "It is possible to be too quiet, and a change from solitary nature to human contact and voices is sometimes desirable. There are always nice people to be met in any crowd. For my own part, I like folks generally. Very few come amiss to me."

He was fond of dogs and cats and, must it be owned, enjoyed teasing them. There is still in the home at Amesbury a large yellow cat that was there during the poet's lifetime. She is quite deaf now and takes life very seriously, as the owner of so famous a master should do.

At one time he had a pet parrot to which he became much attached. When it died he buried it in a snow-drift in the yard and wrote to Lucy Larcom: "I have met with a real loss. Poor Charlie is dead. He has gone where the good parrots go. He has been ailing and silent for some time and he finally died. Don't laugh

at me, but I am sorry enough to cry if it would do any good. He was an old friend. Dear Lizzie liked him. And he was the heartiest, jolliest, pleasantest old fellow I ever saw."

Whittier was never strong physically and with advancing years the increasing number of people who came to see him told heavily upon his strength. In a letter written as early as 1867 he complains of having had a good deal of company, "mostly strangers coming to look at me and make speeches to me. It is a sort of thing to make one feel sadly mean and ridiculous. I envy the stout, steel-muscled farmers—I would rather chop wood than talk poetry with strangers." In the same letter he says, however, that he is "grateful for the gift of verse which has been vouchsafed me." He was occasionally wont, in his later years, to seek escape from visitors at the home of the Goves at Hampton Falls, just over the New Hampshire line. The Goves were very old friends of the Whittier family, and

their home, which was well away from the railway, was out of the line of Summer travellers and tourists. The house, which was built sometime in the first part of the last century, is really an addition to a much older structure. As it now stands it is a fine specimen of an old-fashioned country house, and is a place to gladden the heart of an antiquarian for it is filled with old furniture, silver, glassware, china, books and pictures and withal there is enough of modern ease and comfort added to make it a delightful place of residence. The room the poet used as a bedroom in the second story opens out on a vine-covered balcony. In the foreground is a giant elm (the place is called "Elmfield") while in the far distance may be seen the white sands of Hampton Beach and the gleam of sails on the sea beyond. And here, at the dawn of a September day in 1892, the soul of the poet passed on into "The Eternal Goodness."

THE FIRST NEGRO POET OF AMERICA

BY EMILY FOSTER HAPPER

PHILLIS Wheatley, or later, Phillis Wheatley Peters, though her name is very familiar to bibliographers, may not be so well-known to the general public. She was the only negro poet, or poetess in America during the eighteenth century. George Horton, the only other with any claim, was born in 1797, but did not publish until 1829.

Phillis was an African of the Kaffir or Kafir tribe, who inhabit the country between Cape Colony and Delagoa Bay; (The name Kafir was given them by the Mohammedans on account of their refusal to accept Islamism, and is from the Arabic Kiafer, "an unbeliever.") She was probably born in 1753; her age being guessed from the fact that she was losing her first teeth when she was brought to Boston in 1761.

This poor child was kidnapped and sold to the master of a Boston slave ship, where her sufferings must have been very great. W. H. Jackson, in a memoir attached to an edition of her poems published in 1887, gives the following account of her condition on the slave ship. "She was imprisoned on the middle deck of the ship, with about seventy-five other girls, in a room thirteen by twenty-five feet, and five feet eight inches high. Her food consisted of rice, yams, and horse beans twice a day, which diet was

occasionally varied by boiled beef." So, no small wonder it was, that when she arrived in Boston, clad only with a strip of dirty carpet tied about her waist, she was a pitiful object.

Mr. and Mrs. John Wheatley, upon going to the slave market to purchase a maid servant, were attracted by the modest demeanor of the sad little child, whose frail physique and wasted frame showed the suffering through which she had passed; so she was purchased and taken to the home of the mistress, to whom she was afterwards indebted for unvarying kindness, which she repaid with the faithfulness of a daughter, rather than a servant. Of her home, or parents, she had almost no remembrance, except that her mother "poured out water before the sun at his rising," a custom of the African Fire-worshippers. That a child of seven years could remember so little of her past life may be accounted for from the possible fact that she had been stolen a long while before her sale to the slaver, and that her sufferings had clouded her remembrance, also her inability to compare her native tongue with the English language.

Although purchased for a servant, her unusual precocity attracted the attention of Mrs. Wheatley's daughter (who afterwards became Mrs.

Lothrop.) She taught her to read and write. Phillis made such rapid progress that in sixteen months she was able to read the Bible and in four years could write fluently. At the age of sixteen, in 1769, during a revival of religion, she professed conversion and became a member of the Old South Church. She won the respect of many refined people in Boston, on account of her literary acquirements, and was frequently asked to take part in entertainments. The classics were her favorite studies, and her translation of one of Ovid's odes, which was published in Boston, was highly commended by the scholars of the time.

Upon the advice of her physician, Mr. Wheatley sent her to England for her health; she accompanying his son's family, who were going there to live. During her stay in England, she attracted much attention, and was the guest of the Countess of Huntington, to whom she dedicated her first edition of her poems, published in London in 1773 under the title *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral. By Phillis Wheatley, Negro Servant to Mr. John Wheatley of Boston in New England*. In the preface she disclaims having written for publication. Fearing that the people would suspect these remarkable writings were not those of an humble slave girl, she submitted to an examination as to her fitness for writing them, and eighteen prominent ministers and scholars, headed by Governor Hutchinson, testified these poems "to be, as

we verily believe, the work of Phillis Wheatley."

Her master sent the following letter to the publisher:—"Phillis was brought from Africa to America in the year 1761, between seven and eight years of age. Without any assistance from school education, and by only what she was taught in the family, she, in sixteen months from the time from her arrival, attained the English language, to which she was an utter stranger before, to such a degree, as to read any, the most difficult parts of the Sacred Writings, to the astonishment of all who heard her. As to her writing, her own curiosity led her to it; and this she learnt in so short a time, that in the year 1765, she wrote a letter to the Rev. Mr. Occom, the Indian minister in England. She has a great inclination to learn the Latin tongue, and has made some progress in it. This relation is given by her master who bought her, and with whom she now lives. John Wheatley. Boston, Nov. 14, 1772."

One of her well-known poems was on the death of George Whitfield, the well-known Methodist, who died in Newburyport, Mass., in 1770. Her interest in him was probably due to the fact that he was at one time chaplain to the Countess of Huntington.

While in England her distinguished friends wished her to remain until his return to Court that she might be presented to George 3d., but hearing of the illness of her beloved friend and mistress, she immediately embarked

for America. The death of Mrs. Wheatley in 1774 was soon followed by those of her husband and daughter. Their son having remained in England, Phillis was alone in the world. There does not seem to have been any formal manumission from slavery, she being simply regarded as free upon the death of her master and mistress.

Shortly after the deaths of Mr. and Mrs. Wheatley she married a man by the name of Peters, who proved to be entirely unworthy of her. He styled himself a lawyer, but he was at different times a shop-keeper, a baker, a barber and a doctor. During this unfortunate marriage she bore three children, all of whom died. During the stormy times of the Revolution she went with her miserable husband to Wilmington, where she suffered greatly from want and ill-health; and after the evacuation of Boston by the British she returned there where she was kindly taken care of by Mrs. Wheatley's niece. But later her husband came for her and took her to a miserable room where on Dec. 5, 1784, the woman, honored by England's nobles and America's scholars, died in poverty and want. A notice in the *Independent Chronicle* the Thursday after her death (Dec. 9) says: "Last Lord's day, died Mrs. Phillis Peters (formerly Phillis Wheatley) aged thirty-one, known to the literary world by her collected miscellaneous poems. Her funeral is to be this afternoon, at four o'clock, from the house lately improved by Mr. Todd, nearly opposite Dr.

Bulfinch's, at West Boston, where her friends and acquaintances are desired to attend." The place of her burial is unknown.

While in London, she was presented by the Lord Mayor, Brook Watson, with a copy of Foulis's folio Glasgow edition of *Paradise Lost*; this was sold after her death to help pay her husband's debts. It is now in possession of Harvard College library.

When we measure what Phillis Wheatley accomplished we must measure her by the slaves of her day. At that time, even the white women of educated families were not expected to know the classics; their business was to be good mothers, cooks, and housewives. Although Phillis's verses on classic themes were not great poetry, they have some true poetic lines, such as:

With clouds encompassed glorious Phoebus
stands,
The feather'd vengeance quivering in his
hands.

Then did'st thou Sipylus, the language hear
Of fate portentous whistling in the air.

Her verses to George Washington in 1775 consisted of forty-two lines which she enclosed to him with the following letter:—

"Phillis Wheatley to
George Washington.

SIR: I have taken the freedom to address your Excellency in the enclosed poem, and entreat your acceptance, though I am not insensible of its inaccuracies. Your being appointed by the Grand Continental Congress to be Generalissimo of the

armies of North America, together with the fame of your virtues, excite sensations not easy to suppress. Your generosity, therefore, I presume, will pardon the attempt. Wishing your Excellency all possible success in the great cause you are so generously engaged in, I am Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant,

PHILLIS WHEATLEY.

Providence, Oct. 26, 1775."

Washington's reply was dated:

"Cambridge, Feb. 2d, 1776.

MISS PHILLIS:

Your favor of the 26th. of October did not reach my hands until the middle of December. Time enough, you will say, to have given an answer ere this. Granted. But a variety of important occurrences continually interposing to distract the mind and withdraw the attention, I hope will apologize for the delay, and plead my excuse for the seeming, but not real neglect. I thank you most sincerely for your polite notice of me, in the elegant lines you enclosed; and however undeserving I may be of such encomium and panegyric, the style and manner exhibit a striking proof of your poetical talents; in honour of which, and as a tribute justly due to you, I would have published the poem, had I not

been apprehensive that, while I only meant to give the world this new instance of your genius, I might have incurred the imputation of vanity. This, and nothing else, determined me not to give it a place in public prints. If you should ever come to Cambridge, or near headquarters, I shall be happy to see a person so favored by the muses, and to whom Nature has been so liberal and beneficent in her dispensations.

I am with great respect, your obedient humble servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON."

Washington mentions this letter and poem in a letter to Joseph Read, Feb. 10, 1776, but Mr. Sparks was unable to find the originals among Washington's papers, and says "they have doubtless been lost. It might be curious to see in what manner she would eulogize liberty and the rights of man, while herself, nominally in bondage?" This poem and letter were probably given by Washington to the printer as they were published in the Pennsylvania Magazine for April, 1776.

A memoir written by Margaretta Matilda Odell, who was a collateral descendent of Mrs. Wheatley, is the best authority, probably, on this remarkable woman.

"A WICKED OLD BIBLIOCLAST"

BY ARNOLD LETHWIDGE

IN *The Enemies of Books*, Mr. William Blades, after recounting the ravages of insect pests, and the damage done by physical conditions of all sorts, turns to the human enemies of books. He introduces their kind by singling out for reprobation one of the best known bookmen of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. He writes: "It is a serious matter when Nature produces such a wicked old biblioclast as John Bagford, one of the founders of the Society of Antiquaries, who, in the beginning of the last century, went about the country, from library to library, tearing away title-pages from rare books of all sizes."

From this description one gets the oddest picture of an incarnation of malevolent mania, a ruthless destroyer, an utterly selfish person,—worse than that fabulous hunter of frogs' legs who, they told us in our childhood, caught mighty frogs and separated from them their juicy legs, throwing them into the pond again that they might acquire more legs. The frog still had a fighting chance of growing a new pair of legs and escaping with them, but for the title-pageless book there was little hope of future life.

There are usually many sides to a man's character, however, and it is natural to suppose that an author

writing on the subject of "the enemies of books" would mention a man only in his character as an enemy of books, and would not consider himself unfair if he omitted such evidence as did not strengthen his case. So it is well that we should examine the evidence for ourselves before passing judgment.

Among the Harleian manuscripts in the British Museum are nearly one hundred and thirty volumes of papers of divers sorts and sizes known as the Bagford collections. These volumes were purchased for Lord Harley by his librarian, Humphrey Wanley, after the death of their collector, John Bagford.

Among these volumes are three composed of English ballads, picked up wherever and whenever they were found, preserving many early pieces that would otherwise have been lost. Under the name of *The Bagford Ballads* the best of these have been published by the Ballad Society, edited by J. W. Ebsworth.

Another volume contains a manuscript treatise on the *Art of Shoemaking and Historicall Account of Clouth-ing of ye Foot*. Bagford's first walk in life had been the cobbler's trade. Other manuscripts are his Common-place Book, his Book of Accounts, and a variety of treatises on public and private libraries, or printing, on engraving, on paper; and bibliographi-

cal lists, such as "Editions of the Bible in England," "Names of Old English Printers, with lists of the works which passed through their hands," and "Lists of Books Printed in Italy, France, etc." There are some rare book-plates, broadsides, early almanacs, curious advertisements, documents relating to the London Post Office, and other miscellaneous prints and papers, including a fine collection of maps. Among these is the map rarely found in Hakluyt's *Voyages of 1599 and 1600*, and two Blagrove planispheres, probably unique.

The part of the collection which brings down anathemas on Bagford's head is the immense number of title-pages, colophons, printers' marks and fragments of early printed books and manuscripts—forty-two volumes of these stray leaves there are. Many and many a bibliophile has mourned over these relics of slaughtered books and has imagined punishments fitting the crime. Nearly every one who has mentioned John Bagford within a century, in print, has cast his stone. Bagford's name has stood so long coupled with the wanton destruction of books that it is hard to think of him in any other connection.

John Bagford apparently started out as a cobbler. All we know of his cobbling is that he found in it material for the little treatise on the *Art of Shoemaking* which is to be found with his papers in the Harleian collection, but which it is not even certain that he wrote. Books had more fascination for him than boots, and he

learned to pick up rarities at book stalls and sell them privately at a profit. He had the book-hunter's instinct and developed it so well that men like Harley, Sir Hans Sloane, the Bishop of Ely and other great collectors learned to depend on him to search the shops at home and abroad to increase their collections. His contemporary, Thomas Hearne, the antiquarian, testified of him, "Mr. Bagford was as communicative as he was knowing; so that some of the chief curiosities in some of our best libraries are owing to him; for which reason it was that the late Bishop of Ely, Dr. More (who received so much from him), as an instance of gratitude, procured him a place in the Charter-House. I wish all places were as well bestowed." So he seems to have been not without honor in his own day and place, and to have preserved some great books intact for other men. In fact his livelihood was gained by selling to collectors, books which he had unearthed and recognized as valuable, and which they say he sold at fair and reasonable prices.

This being his business, to buy books and sell them at a profit, how can one reconcile the man's own interests with the destruction he has been discredited with having wrought? Dibdin, who went over his papers at the British Museum, and who reprinted from the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society "An Essay on the Invention of Printing, by Mr. John Bagford; with an account of his Collections for the same by Mr. Humphrey Wanley, F. R. S.,"—Dibdin, the dis-

cursive, discourses of Bagford in this wise: "Bagford was the most hungry and rapacious of all book and print collectors; and, in his ravages, he spared neither the most delicate nor costly specimens. He seems always to have expressed his astonishment at the most common productions; and his paper in the Philosophical Transactions betrays such simplicity and ignorance that one is astonished how my Lord Oxford, and the learned Bishop of Ely, could have employed so credulous a bibliographical forager. A modern collector and lover of perfect copies will witness with shuddering, among Bagford's immense collection of title-pages in the Museum, the frontispieces of the Complutensian polyglot, and Chauncy's History of Hertfordshire, torn out to illustrate a History of Printing."

Dibdin here mentions the motive from which Bagford is supposed to have mutilated so many rare volumes. His ambition was to write a history of printing; and he progressed so far as to issue a prospectus, in 1707, entitled "Proposals for printing an Historical Account of that most universally celebrated, as well as useful Art of Typography." This prospectus was quite in the modern style, containing a specimen of the proposed work—a chapter on the life of Caxton, with a list of his works—and announcing a limited subscription edition of not more than five hundred and fifty copies with a few on large paper. The price however was old-fashioned enough—ten shillings on subscription and ten more on delivery

of the work, which was to be a two-hundred page folio. It is probable that he did not find enough enthusiasm among bookmen to make it possible for him to realize his ambition. He wrote to Sir Hans Sloane, in 1704, of the "famous subject of the Art of Printing" and plunged rather abruptly, as if his courage were suddenly screwed up to it, into a description of his History: "It hath been the labour of several years past, and if now I shall have assistance to midwife it into the world, I shall be well satisfied for the sake of the curious. For these ten years past I have spared no cost in collecting books on this subject, and likewise drafts of the effigies of our famous printers, with other designs that will be needful on this subject. If this short account of the design of the whole shall give you any satisfaction, I shall esteem my pains well bestowed. Hitherto, I have met with no encouragement, but from three reverend gentlemen of Bennet College in Cambridge, who generously of their own accord, gave me 10 pounds each, which is all I ever received of any person whatsoever. It may indeed be imputed to my own neglect, in not acquainting the learned with my design, but modesty still keeps me silent. I hope your goodness will pardon my impertinence."

One does not know whether Sir Hans followed the example of the reverend gentlemen whose admirable precedent was so suggestively held before him, but presumably he offered some form of support. In some way Bagford's hopes were raised so that

he got out his prospectus, and in the same year, 1707, the Royal Society printed his little essay on the invention of printing, which took the form of two letters to Sloane, who was Secretary of the Society. Humphrey Wanley contributed to this paper (to be found in the twenty-fifth volume of the Society's *Philosophical Transactions*) an account of Bagford's collection, which, he expresses the opinion, contains titles or other fragments of books which will be unknown to "Curious Men," and points out the utility that may accrue to "a single Leaf of Paper, tho' not valuable in its self."

There is such an incongruity in the evidence on the subject of these leaves of paper! There is no direct evidence to be found. It is all circumstantial. The collections themselves exist. They consist of fragments of books. He who reads as he runs will certainly read that the collector gathered title-pages and threw away books. Ergo, he is "a literary monster," "a wicked old biblioclast."

He who pauses in his running to think as he reads will reason differently, perhaps. Here was a book hunter, who earned his bread by selling what he found. Imagine him coming upon a perfect copy of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible. Those were not times when book values ran up into hundreds and thousands of pounds, but still the Complutensian Bible was a well-known and a highly valued monument of typography. It is not likely that Bagford picked it up for a song. If he did, so much the bet-

ter for him. In whatever case, is it likely that he seized upon the book, tore from it its title-pages (Dibdin says its "Frontispieces," but it never had any frontispieces, and that is pretty near for the inaccurate old doctor to come to it!) and cast the rest of the Bible from him? I do not believe it. His reputation was that of a "knowing" book hunter, and that he would have done anything quite so stupid is unthinkable. He would have found a profitable customer in the Earl of Oxford, the Duke of Devonshire, or some other noble patron, and at the same time would have been able to retain the privilege of referring to the work when compiling his History. Blades imagines him finding his prey in libraries and tearing title-pages from books he could not remove; but surely books were guarded in the eighteenth century as closely as in the twentieth, and so long a career of brigandage would have been traced home eventually. He seems to have been a much respected man; and one of the great collectors of the day, Dr. John Moore, bishop of Norwich and afterwards of Ely, secured for him a place in the Charter House,—that "hospital for decayed gentlemen,"—in whose churchyard he was buried on his death in 1716. This mark of respect to a poor man would not have been paid to a dishonest one. The Bishop of Ely's three thousand rare volumes, purchased, many of them, through Bagford himself, must have been a tempting field for plunder, had Bagford been possessed with a mania for defacing what he had

already bought, possessed, and sold at a profit; and the Bishop of Ely saw fit to express his appreciation of Bagford's services, by securing him a refuge in his declining years. I do not see why, in the absence of direct testimony on the worse side, one should not form a more plausible theory than that a man whose days were devoted to "collecting Remains of Antiquity," who could tell you where and when the paper was made of any old book he examined, who "made several journeys into Holland to see famous Books there," and who would walk any distance to see for himself antiquities that were described to him—that such a man should be seized with a desire to take the scalp, as it were, of every brave book that fell into his hands, and cast away its desecrated remains; or that, having recognized rare books, bought and sold them to collectors, he should afterwards have risked the loss of his best patrons by wantonly mutilating the books he had sold them. The more sensible conclusion is that in the course of his many journeys and varied experience be found, as every book hunter finds to-day, books in all conditions. The perfect copies be bought and, as was his business, sold again. The worn-out volumes, the imperfect copies, the fragments, he kept for himself, and piled up for his own use a mass of fragmentary examples of every branch of printing. He was often able to save a title-page or colophon that would have gone to the waste-heap. Too, he found many books of little or no value in history,

and failed to dispose of them at any price. Instead of sending for the junkman to rid him of the lot, as might any bookseller cramped for storage room, he paid them the honor of preserving at least their names and titles, that posterity might know they once had lived. He rescued many fragments of early vellum manuscripts from old bindings in which they had been incorporated—as is shown by stains of the leather. He preserved the most inconsidered trifles, which men know not where to find to-day save in the Bagford collections. "When he went abroad, he was never idle, but if he could not meet with Things of a better Character, he would divert himself with looking over Ballads, and he was mightily pleased if he met with any that were old." "His care did not extend itself to Books and to fragments of Books only, but even to the very Covers, and to Bosses and Clasps; and all this, that he might, with the greater ease, compile the History of Printing, which he had undertaken, but did not finish." This testimony of Thomas Hearne, his colleague in the reconstitution of the Society of Antiquaries, rings true. Hearne was his devoted friend and admirer, and tried hard to obtain his collections, after his death, that he might carry out the uncompleted project. In his diary he records his chagrin at finding that Humphrey Wanley had purchased them for Lord Harley. He adds: "This was roguery. For they were certainly designed for me. But since

they have got them, they ought to digest those about printing, and to publish them. This I mentioned to Wanley. But he said his accounts were very imperfect, and so put off the discourse, and seemed to declare that nothing of that nature could be done; himself, he said, being taken up with other affairs. I told him, had the papers come to me, I would have methodized them, for the service of the public, and the honour of Mr. Bagford."

Wanley did nothing with the collections, and they were never used in the way that Bagford intended. In the Harleian collection are one hundred and twenty-nine volumes ascribed to Bagford's industry, of which ninety-three are printed pieces. Four volumes fell into Sir Hans Sloane's collection and are now also in the British Museum, where the printed pieces have recently been separated from the manuscripts and now form a volume. The only things which Hearne is known to have received from Bagford—doubtless during his lifetime—are several Indulgences, which afterward became the property of Bishop Richard Rawlinson, who gave them to the Bodleian Library.

If Hearne had obtained the collections and compiled the intended History, he would doubtless have told enough about his friend so that the twentieth century would not feel called upon to speculate on his character and methods. If Dr. Dibdin had not drawn some hasty conclusions in his impulsive way, other

bookmen would not have echoed his ill-digested remarks, of which the writer repented himself in his second edition and, finding it "incumbent on me to say something more, and less declamatory, of so extraordinary a character," quoted nearly four pages of Hearne's description of his friend. He did not retract his former opinions, but Hearne's testimony, following, emphasizes their probable incorrectness.

It is a little odd that while so much has been said in disapproval of Bagford's title-page collection, no mention is made of the similar though smaller collection of Joseph Ames, author of *Typographical Antiquities*. In Herbert's edition of this work, a memoir of Ames is inserted, written by Richard Gough. Describing the dispersal of Ames's books he says that Walpole purchased "Ames's collection of title-pages to books, from 1474 to 1700, in three volumes, folio, with several bundles more, and of title-pages alphabetically arranged according to the place where printed, in two more folio volumes;" while Mr. West acquired "a collection of initial letters, from the beginning of printing, with some notes by Mr. Ames; and a catalogue of Caxton's books, portraits and devices of printers; making in the whole seven large portfolios and three bundles." William Oldys's diary mentions his dining with Ames and examining his title-page collection, and mentions sending Ames a letter "about the twenty hundred weight of waste

books at 25s. per hundred weight." So here we have Joseph Ames, caught—how may one express it but in the pharaseology of modern New York slang—"with the goods on him," yet never a word is said in depreciation of his character. While Bagford, without any testimony against him except the big collection in the British Museum, which bibliographers first use and then cry out upon, has become possessor of a varied

collection of titles of opprobrium to which almost any writer seems eager to add, if only for the pleasure of turning a new and neatly abusive phrase. Perhaps it is well deserved. There may be evidence that has not come under my eye. But certainly it has not been cited by his detractors, and the old gentleman seems to me to deserve the benefit of a very reasonable doubt.



THE REZZONICO PALACE, VENICE.

(*"A ROBERTO BROWNING, MORTO IN QUESTO PALAZZO."*)

BY ARTHUR UPSON

I see a moonlight beauty disavow
 That death has ever known her; but around
 Her melancholy portals only sound
 Of waters makes her music; and the brow
 Of stately wall records the legend how
 "Died in this palace" a poet Love once crowned.
 Here the cold Angel that strong harp unbound:
 How chill and silent seem her chambers now!
 O World, if ever moon should wander here
 Where builds my heart its palace for your song
 And find such tablet in its outer wall,
 The poet dead, the chambers still and drear,
 Let not its hollow beauty win the throng
 To reverence, but let it perish all!



A BIBLIOGRAPHY of the books printed by Hacon and Ricketts. Issued privately by Charles Ricketts, 1904.

The three fonts of type designed by Mr. Charles Ricketts for the use in the Vale series of books have all passed into history. The punches and matrices from which the type was cast have been dropped into the Thames River, and the type itself has been thrown again into the melting-pot. The work of the printer and designer is finished and he closes his colophon with the word of double meaning, VALE. The bibliography is then a complete one—including even its own title. It covers only those books printed by Hacon and Ricketts from the Vale, King's and Avon founts, under Mr. Ricketts's supervision. The books printed by Lucien Pissarro have already been recorded in a bibliography of the Eragny press; and the first Vale books, *Daphnis and Chloe*, *Hero and Leander*, and the occasional numbers of *The Dial*, have no place here.

The list opens with *The Early Poems of John Milton*, the first book printed by Mr. Ricketts in the Vale type.

Forty-four titles make up the list of books printed in the Vale and King's types, with forty volumes of Shakespeare in the Avon types. The first volume of the Shakespeare was published in April, 1900, and the rest followed at intervals of a month. Of the remaining books the dates of publication are not given, which seems a pity. One can remember or look up these dates now, but as Mr. Ricketts confesses that he has printed his books for the benefit of that expected New Zealander who is to sit one far day on the ruins of London Bridge and make a study of the obliterated race to which Mr. Ricketts belongs, it would have been kind in him to spare the future bibliographer the pains of tracing these minutiae. It will be difficult for him to scrape up enough crumbling fragments of the contemporary wood-pulp periodicals to make out when these handmade, all-rag monuments of typography first came into being. "It is now seven years since the first book was published by Hacon and Ricketts," says the writer; and from that suggestion and the fact that the

books are listed in the order in which they were issued, must one construct his chronology. About all the other information that one wants is given, — the type, decorations and initials, size, edition, price, and binding-paper design. This part of the book is printed in red and black, the introduction in black. The Vale type is used, and a sample page each of the Avon and King's founts is inserted.

The introduction is valuable in connection with the bibliography, since it very fittingly sets forth the author's ideas of fine printing and tells what were his aims in this series of books. Both their matter and manner were chosen from the idea that "a certain amount of fine literature, owing to its quality of permanence, suggests for that reason the desirability of a beautiful and permanent form for it." So his selections have been made of those works of literature which he would gladly see survive the centuries, mostly the English poets, early and modern. For these he designed the types which have been used for them alone. He has constructed his books on his definition of a work of art—"A work of art is a whole in which each portion is exquisite in itself yet co-ordinate." "This would differentiate a Vale book, for instance, in which each part is the result of design, from the finest and most costly continental edition de luxe, in which portions may be admirable—the plates, the decoration for instance, whilst the book as a whole is casual, and a combination of common elements not exquisite in themselves,

nor exquisitely related to one another."

"The accusation I have heard brought against the Kelmscott books and my own, that they are imitations of old books, lies in the fact that they are gifted with a definite, not to say emphatic, sense of design if compared with current work, which is lacking this quality. I assert, however, that these books are modern, they are so, since the combination of all the conditions which they fulfill have been accomplished for the first time in the history of printing. This last statement refers to the element of personal control which characterises the books of the revival. I would be allowed to point out that the invention of the type and the original woodcut pictures and decorations form an aggregate for which we will hardly find a precedent in the past. I also think that the control of the pagination and press-work has very rarely been due in the past to the supervision of the designer of the type and the rest. I grant that the result may be delightful only to their maker or author, that it may be merely rare and not beautiful."

The Vale type is, from the reader's point of view, a very successful design with many elements of strength, one that it seems a pity to lose because its designer deplures the idea that the font "should drift into other hands . . . and become stale by unthinking use." The Avon font, which was designed for the *Shakespeare*, is smaller and more slender, but carries out the same ideas of design. Its compactness

makes it less easy of perusal in solid paragraphs, but it is admirably adapted to the use for which it was made.

The King's font has a decided originality and would take familiarity to make it easily readable. In this Mr. Ricketts has revised his lower-case forms, returning to half-uncial forms and replacing four of the weakest lower-case consonants, f, g, r, and t, with modified uncial forms, so that they appear somewhat like small capitals. The eye, unused to these forms, accustoms itself but slowly to them and to an unusual treatment of the difficult letter e and some other peculiarities in design, but there is much that is admirable in the font, and one feels that some improvements in it should be incorporated into a font that would not be dumped into the Thames before it had fairly been cast. Mr. Ricketts says, "I felt, however, so sceptical as to the probable appreciation of my venture that I used this font only in three of the later books, and reduced the number of copies issued. I need hardly add that, like many a fond parent, I view my youngest font with the greatest affection."

Some two years ago a fire at the Ballantyne Press, where the printing of the Vale books was being done, destroyed the original blocks and most of the electrotypes of the borders, frontispieces, initials and other decorations which had been designed and engraved with so much labor and which were necessary

parts of the artistic whole at which Mr. Ricketts was aiming. This discouraging loss it did not seem possible to repair. The initials alone that had been used in the Vale books represented, besides their designing, a year's work in engraving. The borders meant perhaps three weeks or a month to produce each. It was decided to give up the rest of the series planned, and bring out only the remainder of the *Shakespeare*, which was already half done. When the last volume was finished one more book was put out—Marlowe's *The Tragedy of Doctor Faustus*, printed uniform with the *Shakespeare*, and issued for the benefit of the Society of Romantic Players.

The Bibliography closes the series. It is a small quarto, with a frontispiece engraved by C. Ricketts after the sign-board painted by C. H. Shannon for the old Vale premises. Frontispiece and initial page have a fine border of grapes and vines designed by Mr. Ricketts. The colophon is printed in red, and opposite is the firm's device of a graver's tool and vine.

NEW LETTERS OF THOMAS CARLYLE. Edited and annotated by Alexander Carlyle. 2 vols. John Lane. London and New York, 1904.

Beginning with 1836, these letters form a continuation of the *Early Letters* which Dr. Charles Eliot Norton edited and published in 1886. Those letters extended from 1814 to 1826, the year of Carlyle's marriage. These begin with 1836 and continue

to 1879, two years before his death, the final one, to Dr. Carlyle, being the last letter but one which he ever wrote. They are for the larger part family letters, written, as was the wont of both the Carlyles, with much freedom of expression and detail concerning their doings and opinions. They have been chosen from an immense number, the selection including those that best carry out the idea of an autobiography. Some letters, too, are from his correspondence with friends, many of them authors, clever men and women in all ranks, for whom he felt and expressed the sincerest sympathy and comradeship. One of the most charming things about "dour old Carlyle" was his warm, firm interest in his friends, and his unfailing devotion to his family. He never was too busy or absorbed or "black-baised" to lay aside his preoccupation and write strong, cheerful, helpful words, if sickness or misfortune had come to any of his family or friends. His judgments of people were plainly expressed in his letters, and were sometimes not complimentary, but always honest, and seldom bitter. He could be, when poor enough himself, generously concerned with the welfare of others. He wrote to Edward Fitz Gerald in 1844, "One day we had Tennyson here; an unforgettable day. He staid with us till late; * * * He said of you that you were a man from whom one could accept money; which was a proud saying; which you ought to bless Heaven for. It has struck me as a

distinctly necessary Act of Legislation, that Alfred should have a Pension of £150 a year. They have £1,200 every year to give away. A hundred and fifty to Alfred, I say; *he* is worth that sum to England! It should be done and must."

The literary interest lies strongest in those letters touching on the writing and publishing of his own books. Oliver Cromwell was a subject that kept him long in unquiet labor and made him write "I am as a *drowned mouse*, to whom additional rains or the brightest sunny weather are very literally all one! Such is the 'Curse of Cromwell' resting on me, for the time being. I never give up, but I make almost no way." He was at infinite pains to get copies of Cromwell's letters. A note to Browning in 1844 shows an induced irritability: "Dear Browning—This Mr. X—, Oliver's descendant, seems to be a kind of fool; and I find I shall have to attack him thro' you,—for your sins! He called here the other day, at an hour when there is no admission; I wrote a small civil Note indicating that a copy of Oliver's Letter would greatly oblige me. * * * He answers after ten days by this enclosed Note; seems not to understand that the copy of Oliver's own Letter, not Henry's or the drawing of New Hall near Chelmsford,—is the only part of his possessions that interests me; and writes, in short, and in a very illegible hand too, considerably like a goose! * * * He lives somewhere about Blackheath; he is known to some friends of yours: could not you, by

your dexterity, contrive to introduce some legible penman, for ten minutes, into free contact with that invaluable Autograph, and get a correct copy of it;—We should then leave X—to rhyme the matter in his own head, quite at his leisure, and to call here either during the summer or the winter as it seems good to him! *** There is no haste, I ought to say; a copy any time within six months will serve all essential purposes.”

There are many passages of an unquotable length concerning his arrangements with publishers, the reception of his books, his panics over his series of lectures, which made him ill with nervousness—though on starting in with the second season he wrote his brother (10 May, 1838,) “The people shall hear a little more of my mind this year, for I

stand in less and less terror of them; and feel much ‘more like a teacher and less like a showman’ than I did.” The book adds a gratifying amount to our familiarity with the Carlyles; makes us love them more, and strengthens our faith in their compatibility and as much harmony as two cases of dyspepsia would allow in any household.

The selection of these letters was begun some years ago by Prof. Norton, who worked down to the correspondence of the year 1866, at which point the work was taken up by Alexander Carlyle, who presents them for publication. They fill two octavo volumes uniform with the *New Letters and Memorials of Jane Welsh Carlyle*, and are brought out on both sides of the Atlantic by the same publisher, John Lane.



BOOK THIEVES.

Several public librarians have recently reported to *The Library Journal* their experiences with book thieves. In the June number is a letter from E. W. Gaillard, librarian at the East Side House, New York. Mr. Gaillard had advertised for a copy of March's *Thesaurus*, and had been notified by another librarian that a copy of the same work had been stolen from his library, and could be identified, if it turned up, by a private accession mark. Before Mr. Gaillard got through with March's *Thesaurus*, he had learned of ten copies that had been stolen from different libraries; had recovered three of these; and had turned over to the police a courteous, affable, and apparently ingenuous man, who must stand trial in New York and then be turned over to a neighboring state to answer to the same charge. Mr. Gaillard says: "I am inclined to believe, from what has been brought to my notice, that at least three men operate together. One investigates, one steals, and one sells. The territory covered seems to extend from Boston to Washington, perhaps further. Books are so treated that identification is extremely difficult. Where library marks cannot be effectually removed the pages are cut out and replaced by others. * * * Book plates and embossed stamps are removed with great skill." The actual thief is an expert. One library lost both volumes of the large Rand & McNally atlas; one bookseller lost six copies of the Webster International Dictionary in one afternoon. . . I have heard of first editions which have been loaned for reference, and a few days after it was found that dummies were substituted and the real first editions were stolen. * * *

"In consequence of my investigations I am convinced that there is an organized body of men who know book values, library methods, and who are skilled in book alteration, who prey upon public and semi-public libraries."

Since this letter was written an accomplice has been caught and plead guilty, but the expert thief is still at large.

From the Public Library at Somerville, Mass., about two hundred books, valued at

\$1,600, had been stolen since last November, and the librarian, Mr. S. W. Foss, finally traced them to a "special research" student supposed to be writing a history, and therefore allowed the freedom of the Americana room, which he frequented with his bulky manuscript. He was finally caught by the identity of his registry signature with that on a receipt given by him to a bookseller. Many of the books have been recovered, and the thief was held to the grand jury and sentenced.

CHARLES LOWELL WOODWARD.

One of the few notable old book sellers of this country was Charles Lowell Woodward, whose death last September removed one of Nassau Street's best known characters. In the *Publishers' Weekly* of June 11, "A. G." sketches this "rugged individuality" of the old bookseller, who had carried on his business at his second-floor rooms at 78 Nassau Street since 1875. "A man who was little understood, and therefore appreciated by only the few who cared, or rather, dared to penetrate a rough and often repelling exterior that fairly bristled with hatred of humbug, cant and pretense, but which covered a heart that beat warm and fervent for all that was real and human. * * * Such was the man who for a generation was known all over the English-speaking world as the owner of one the best-selected stocks of Americana, and, whether he was buying or selling, as one of the fairest dealers in the book trade."

He made a study and collection of Mormon literature and in 1880 sold this collection at auction giving the catalogue the title *Bibliotheca Scallawagiana*. He was equally contemptuous of the subject of genealogy, and hunters for a family tree would be presented with his "donkey catalogue," which was the list of his genealogical books, the cover ornamented with the cut of a donkey overburdened with paniers full of books. He was the friend of the great collectors of his day, and his shop was a favorite haunt of the frequenters of Nassau street. A portrait accompanies the article.

GEORGE SAND.

Mr. Emil Aucante contributes to *Gil Blas* his personal reminiscences of the great novelist, as whose secretary he served from 1842 to 1858. He describes her manner of dealing with her publishers, and says that the bulk of her composition was done between midnight and sun-rise.

In *L'Echo de Deux Mondes*, the French fortnightly literary magazine published at the University of Chicago, Jules Claretie describes the statue of George Sand unveiled at the Luxembourg gardens July first, commemorating her one-hundredth anniversary. This statue represents Mme. Dudevant at the age of twenty-seven, and is highly praised by Claretie and by the Parisian journal, *L'Illustration*, which prints an appreciation of Sand. *Figaro* is printing daily some of her unpublished letters, which are soon to appear in book form.

MONASTIC LIBRARIES.

A paper on this subject, read by Alfred Morgan at the May meeting of the Birmingham Library Association, is printed in the *Library Association Record* for June, traces the history of the books belonging to the Church, from the libraries at Rome in the first centuries of the Christian religion. In those days, holy books and church documents were valued enough to be given one of the three divisions of the apse trichora, having their place next the tribunal or episcopal chair.

In the English abbeys, books were stored in presses set about the cloister. Later, separate rooms were provided. The various religious orders had each its collection, the Franciscans and Benedictines being most advanced in learning. The former, in the fourteenth century, compiled a co-operative catalogue of the works of seventy or eighty different authors contained in one hundred and sixty-seven monasteries in England and Scotland.

The downfall of the monastic libraries came with the Reformation, when at least eight hundred libraries were destroyed or scattered, the rarest vellum manuscripts used to polish boots or mend windows, the literature of the Dark Ages, in large measure, irretrievably lost.

OXFORD PRINTING.

Falconer Madan has compiled for private distribution *A Chart of Oxford Printing, 1468-1900*, giving in tabular form the history and bibliography of the Oxford University Press. Henry Frowde gives a digest of the chief statistics in *The Periodical*, which is the organ of the University Press.

The first Oxford book known is the Latin Commentary by St. Jerome (really by Rufinus of Aquileia) on the Apostles Creed, which bears the date 1468, though probably the true

date is 1478. The earliest Cambridge printer was John Sibach, the friend of Erasmus, who printed books at Cambridge in 1521 and 1522. Eight volumes only are recorded as the products of his press. The first press at Oxford ceased in 1486-7. In 1585, with £100 lent by the University, Joseph Barnes commenced printing; and the Oxford Press has been in continuous activity ever since. His first book was Case's *Speculum moralium quaestionum*. Towards the end of the seventeenth century Cambridge University undertook to manage its press for itself through the agency of curators, but the present system of Syndics dates from 1782. The first charter to Oxford which relates to printing is dated November 12, 1632. In 1665 the oldest existing English newspaper began as the *Oxford Gazette*, the Court being then at Oxford; since the twenty-fourth number this has been known as the *London Gazette*. In 1675 the Bible Press began, and the first Oxford Bible and Prayer Book bears that date. The first specimens of type published in England were issued from the Sheldonian Press in 1693. The new Clarendon Printing House, now known as the Clarendon Building, was first used in 1713; the name being derived from the fact that the cost of the building was partly defrayed from the profits of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*, of which the University possesses the perpetual copyright. As early as 1770 there was an Oxford Bible Warehouse in Paternoster Row, London. In 1815 a Parliamentary paper was issued, showing that in the preceding seven years there had been printed at Oxford 460,500 Bibles, 386,000 New Testaments, 400,000 Books of Common Prayer, and 200,000 catechisms, psalters, &c.—the total value being nearly £213,000, while the value of the secular books printed in the same period was £24,000. In 1870, to take a big leap, twenty-six editions of the Bible were warehoused; in 1876, forty editions; in 1895, seventy-eight editions, and ninety editions of the Prayer Book. These totals are considerably exceeded to-day. It was in 1830 that the present Clarendon Press was opened, having cost upwards of £30,000. The Revised New Testament was published on May 17, 1881, and upwards of a million Oxford copies were sold within twenty-four hours. In 1882 the *New English Dictionary* was begun. In 1883 the London publishing business was removed to the present premises at Amen Corner. In 1896 a New York branch of the Oxford University Press was started. In December of that year, let us add, the first number of the *Periodical* was published.

Mr. Madan gives the total number of books produced at Oxford (not necessarily at the University Press) as follows:—1468-1600, 148; 1601-1650, 1,161; 1651-1700, 1,428;

1701-1750, 1,108; 1751-1800, 1,365; 1801-1850, 4,449; 1851-1900, 9,816—total, 19,475. The proportion of books independent of the University Press may be taken to be less than five per cent. until about 1800, and as rising to about twenty per cent. (at most) during the nineteenth century. Of course it must be remembered that a single edition, though a million copies may be printed, is reckoned as one book, and Mr. Madam thinks that probably 200 or 300 issues of the Bible and Prayer Book have escaped him. But despite its necessary limitations the chart could not be equalled by any printing press in the world.

PREHISTORIC POTTERY IN ARKANSAS.

Mrs. Carrington Mason has given to the Cossitt Library Museum, at Memphis, her collection of prehistoric pottery, which is described in the June *Craftsman* by Anna B. A. Brown. Mrs. Mason found a big mound that was apparently the site of an ancient village in Arkansas, about forty miles from Memphis, Tenn., and from graves on the edge of this mound she had unearthed this remarkable collection of nearly a thousand pieces of pottery. Many of these indicate a civilization as old as that found by Prof. Schliemann deep under the mines of Troy, supposed to date back over one thousand years before Christ. The swastika and inverted pyramid appear in the ornamentation. Figures of Egyptian and of Peruvian style are found. Animal forms are common, jars with deftly hollowed feet show excellent modelling. An ax and jars are made from the hard pudding-stone, highly polished. The most interesting piece is a broken jar, of which the remaining portions show that it was modelled after a Norse rowing vessel of the type in use a thousand years ago. This adds evidence of the visits of the vikings to America. The mound-builders seem to have been great travellers. "There is pottery made of clay from 'the great red Pipe-stone Quarries' of the Northwest; there are shells from the Pacific, stone weapons from the Appalachian range, and from the Rocky Mountains.

"These jars and pots, arrow-points and spear-heads, the sole remaining proofs of a vanished race, form a most interesting passage in history, preserved by kindly Nature for her youngest children to read."

TIBETAN ART.

The art of Tibet, says Lilian Le Mesurier in the June *Studio*, is characterized by "rigid adherence to the ancient patterns, shapes and designs. Few will question their beauty and variety, but it is regrettable that the impulse to new creation is dead. . . The old art is exquisitely, faithfully copied, but a new one does not arise to give it a fresh lease of life."

Tibetan art finds expression in characteristic metal-work belonging uniquely to that country. Persian, Indian and Chinese designs are often used in decoration, but the main tendencies are entirely individual. Grotesque forms are often seen, with a common use of skulls and deaths' heads, but the vessels are never ugly or ungraceful. Metals are usually blended, copper, brass and silver often combining. "To restrict himself to one metal only would appear to the Tibetan modeller a deliberate throwing away of the rich colour combinations that lie ready to his hand." He knows the value of blank spaces, and the right proportioning of the relief ornaments which form the decorations. In the older Tibetan work the metal is beaten much thinner than in modern specimens, and the pieces are much lighter. A distinguishing feature of the work is the irregular joining of the two or more sheets of metal that form the vessel. Imitators fail to reproduce this joint in a manner to deceive the expert. The vessels most commonly found are flagons, tea-pots, tea-churns, ornaments and bells.

THE TURIN LIBRARY FIRE.

In *Nuova Antologia*, Paolo Boselli estimates the amount of damage done by the great fire at the Turin University library. Of the three hundred thousand volumes, 23,711 were burned. "The greatest damage was done in the five sections which were very rich in works of philosophy, pedagogy, and educational treatises, consisting of 5,689 volumes, of which only 176 were saved." The section containing the complete works of eminent writers was nearly wiped out, as was the fine law library. "The linguistic section consists to-day of 551 works, while 3,239 have perished by fire. The philological section has lost 2,290 works, and has saved 656 only. Of the precious Aldines, out of 700 volumes only 150 remain. All the archives of the library went up in flames. All the memoirs and annotations upon the manuscripts of the library which were destined for future publication have perished." The typographical inventory of manuscripts was destroyed. The manuscripts themselves suffered most heavily. There were probably forty-five hundred in the library. The larger part of these was destroyed wholly or in part. "Almost all the Hebrew manuscripts were burned, only 40 remaining of the 111 Oriental, Arabic, and Turkish works registered by Mallino. Less damage has been suffered by the Greek manuscripts, although there is no single one of them but has been more or less injured by the effects of fire or water. Not more than half of them have entirely survived the disaster. Probably the original number was 406, of which it is hoped that 177 may be restored from the scattered fragments. All the

parchments seem to have escaped destruction, among them that famous codex of Theodoret's Commentary on the Minor Prophets, whose illuminations are so justly renowned. This literary monument had previously survived without injury the fire of 1667. But the Greek Hymnary commented on by Cardinal Pitri and by Krumbacher seems to have been consumed, and the Greek Psalter of the Eighth Century was almost destroyed. The Greek Diplomariat has perished. Passim has enumerated in the Turin collection, 1,291 Latin manuscripts. From the calculations of Frati, they can safely be enumerated as 2,475." Of these, 1,350 are listed as surviving and others may be found. The French department was an almost total loss. It contained "the books of Charles V., Charles VI., Philip, and the Bastard of Burgundy, which for their singular rarity had been celebrated, studied

and imitated by the foremost writers and artists. Among the artistic manuscripts of which a wretched morsal alone survives is the *Heures de Turin*. The manuscript of *Historia Augusta*, illuminated by Pisanello and Pasti, survives in a most ruinous condition. The illuminated missal of Cardinal Rosselli, a Spanish work of the fourteenth century, is but slightly injured. The collection of romances of chivalry has suffered much from the fire, and many masterpieces of illumination have perished. Numerous works dealing with the history of Savoy have been reduced to ashes, and the glory of the library, the French Department, with its important and exquisite examples of illumination, contains nothing but a heap of half-consumed fragments, from among which it is to be hoped something will be rescued by the restoration of experts."



The fifth volume of *Social England* appears from the house of G. P. Putnam's Sons. The editorial work of the late Henry Duff Traill is continued by J. S. Mann, the title-page bearing the two names. The volume covers the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries—the era of the four Georges. It is well illustrated and published in the style of the preceding volumes.

Edwin B. Hill, at Lakeland, Mich., has reprinted the obituary of Thoreau, written by Emerson and published in the *Boston Advertiser* in May, 1862. The reprint contains also a Thoreau letter, some notes, and a letter written by F. B. Sanborn in June, 1862, mentioning Emerson's authorship of the obituary.

Scribners' are bringing out Alice M. Todd's translation of Georg Gronau's *Titian*, with many amendments and additions to the original German edition of 1900. There are over fifty illustrations, a bibliography, and a list of Titian's pictures.

The *Magazine of Art*, whose term of life has been long and whose contents were of a high order, has suspended publication, the July number being the valedictory.

A compilation of *War Songs and Poems of the Southern Confederacy* has been made by Dr. H. M. Wharton, who served as a private in Lee's army throughout the war, and who adds to the text of the songs many anecdotes of their composition and use, and many reminiscences of his own war-life.

New England in Letters, by Rufus Rockwell Wilson, is a good guide-book to the literary fastnesses of New England, containing a vast deal of useful information about her great authors and their dwelling places, interestingly told and well indexed.

At the Dykes-Campbell sale at Sotheby's the middle of June, a copy of Maria Lowell's *Poems*,—of which fifty copies were privately printed at Cambridge, Mass. in 1855,—was

bundled with a dozen books of English poetry and catalogued without comment. A Boston bookseller, seeing the catalogue, obtained the lot for ten pounds, and is rejoicing in his luck. The volume lacked the portrait and one leaf; but the book very rarely turns up, and is valuable in any condition. Copies sold in 1901 for ninety and ninety-five dollars, and the record is held by the copy sold last year at the Bartlett sale. This was a presentation copy from Lowell to J. E. Cabot, and with it was the manuscript of one of the poems. The sale price was two hundred and ten dollars.

Walt Whitman seems just to be coming to his own in England. The Britons are placing him just now on the highest pinnacle of American poetry, and are exhuming every thing the good gray poet ever said or wrote.

Appletons have in preparation the second volume of Madame Adam's autobiography, which will be called *My Literary Life*.

A fine collection of phototype reproductions of drawings by the old masters of the Dutch and Flemish schools is being made by E. W. Moes from the originals in the Royal Collection of Prints at Amsterdam. Karl W. Hiersemann is publishing the collection in ten parts containing ten plates each, with descriptive text. The edition is of three hundred copies.

A series of little monographs is being published in London by Anthony Treherne & Co. under the series name, *The Collector's Library*. The issue which has just appeared treats of *The Art of Extra Illustration*, and is written by J. M. Bullock.

The Scribners are importing *The Langham Series of Art Monographs*, edited by Selwyn Brinton. The first to appear is a study of Rodin, by Rudolf Dircke; the second, a volume on *The Illustrators of Montmartre*, written by Frank L. Emanuel.

The University of Chicago is printing a second edition of Dr. R. F. Harper's *The Code of Hammurabi*, and has in preparation his supplementary volume on *The Hammurabi and the Mosaic Codes*.

Two volumes of *Elizabethan Sonnets* have been published by E. P. Dutton & Company, completing their series, Arber's English Garner. They are edited by Sidney Lee, who contributes an introductory study of the effect of foreign influences on Elizabethan literature.

The London *Athenæum* completed its seventy-sixth year with the issue of June 25.

It was founded by Charles Wentworth Dilke in June, 1828.

The Prussian Academy has begun a descriptive index of German and Latin Mediæval manuscripts of German origin, up to the sixteenth century, wherever they may be found. Prominent scholars have been placed in charge of this work in different towns and foreign countries.

The Book Lover, which has been published by the Consolidated Retail Booksellers as a quarterly illustrated reprint of bookish literature, has been merged into *The Book-lovers' Magazine* and will no longer appear as a separate magazine.

Longmans, Green & Co. are publishing a collotype facsimile and a transcript in type of an Elizabethan manuscript preserved in Alnwick Castle, Northumberland. It consists of a number of essays and other papers, the majority by Francis Bacon. Frank J. Burgoyne has made the transcription, and supplies notes and an introduction.

The Essex House Press has printed a little pamphlet concerning itself, containing a sketch of itself, an account of the types it has produced, a bibliography of its typographical productions and a catalogue of the exhibition that has just been held in London, of its books and bindings.

Two notable *Documents Relating to the Purchase and Exploration of Louisiana* are issued by Houghton, Mifflin & Co. from the Riverside Press, in a limited edition of five hundred and fifty copies. The documents are a paper on "The Limits and Bounds of Louisiana," by President Jefferson, and a "Journal of a Voyage commencing at St. Catherine's Landing on the east bank of the Mississippi, proceeding downward to the mouth of the Red River, and from thence ascending the Black River and the Washita River as high as the Hot Springs, in the proximity of the last-mentioned river." This journal was written by William Dunbar, in a voyage undertaken in 1804 at the instance of Jefferson. The volume includes also a letter of Jefferson, with which he presented his manuscript to the American Philosophical Society; an extract from his message to Congress in 1806, recommending Dunbar's journal and telling of its contents; and an introduction by Dr. I. M. Hays. The manuscripts have not been printed before, and the volume is historically important. It is also a notable example of American bookmaking.

Dodd, Mead & Co. have issued a facsimile reprint of Thomas Hariot's *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, from the first edition, 1588. Only seven copies are known of this, "the earliest printed original book in the English language relating to the region now comprised within the limits of the United States." An introductory note is inserted by the editor, Luther S. Livingston.

COLLECTOR'S LUCK.

A professor at the University of Pennsylvania relates the remarkable experience of a lady of his acquaintance who is a book collector. While in Holland three or four years ago, she picked up a fine old quarto edition of Shakespeare, which was sold to her at a ridiculously low price because one volume of the set was missing. Two years afterward the lady chanced to be in an old bookshop out in Ohio, when her eyes fell on a familiar looking book on the shelf. Taking it down she discovered the missing volume of her Holland purchase, the fly-leaf inscribed with the identical signature.

All collectors have bits of such experience at times, and it is a joyful thing to have such tales to tell the envious or emulative collector who visits us. "Collector's Luck" should form the title of a fine lot of fragmentary reminiscences of our finds and pick-ups. Big fish or little, the play is exciting and the thrill of successful landing is the same. Come one and all and swap yarns of your longest chase, your last worm that caught the biggest fish, or even sing of the glories of the one that got away or took another's hook before your nose. Let us, in these long summer days when there are few current doings to record, fill the time with tales of by-gone prowess.

We have fished for such small fry, ourselves, that we have little to tell of our own catches. But it was good fun in its little way, that day we missed the ferry and poked about a West Forty-Second street junk shop waiting for the next. We could feel something alive in that old box of bottles and broken plates, and presently drew forth a disreputably dirty but entirely genuine Wedgewood bowl with Flaxman cameos, with one long crack across the bottom. The sleepy junk man said no one would buy it, "Cause you can't put nothin' hot in it, you know," and it cost us just fifteen cents.

In a Broadway furniture auction shop window we saw some books one day, and followed the trail. It was a ten-volume, half-morocco Century Dictionary, latest issue, sold at one hundred and fifty dollars; and it came to us for fifteen. The man in charge called our attention to "them red books over there," and presently a complete Thistle Stevenson was

ours for ten dollars. We acted first and questioned afterwards, and the tale we were told was this. A man whose hobby had been books, found another hobby in another man's wife. Having spent all his money on her, when it suddenly became advisable to depart for Europe he picked up his furniture and books and flung them away for the price of a voyage. What does a furniture-auctioneer know about books? And thereby did an ill wind blow good books into a modest but respectable haven!

Next?

COLLECTANEA.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES. A selected list of works in the New York Public Library relating to Naval History, Naval Administration, etc. Part I. *Bulletin of the N. Y. P. L.*, June.

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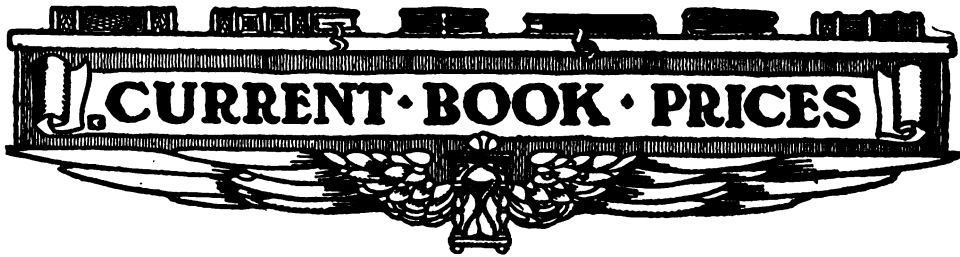
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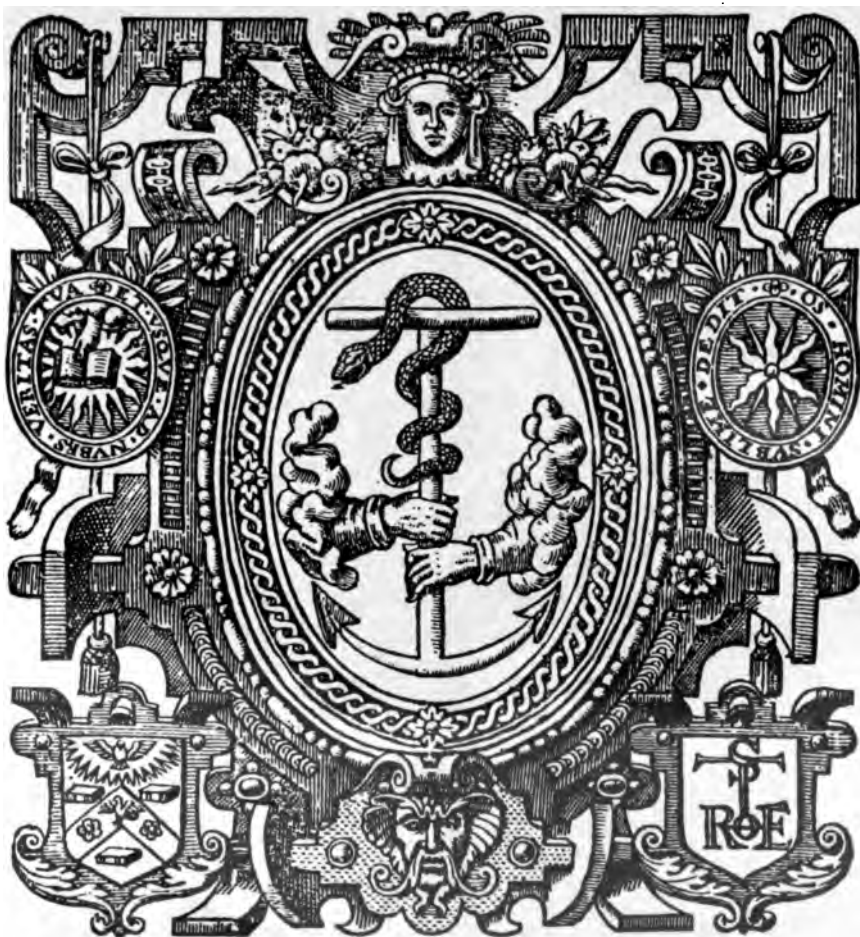
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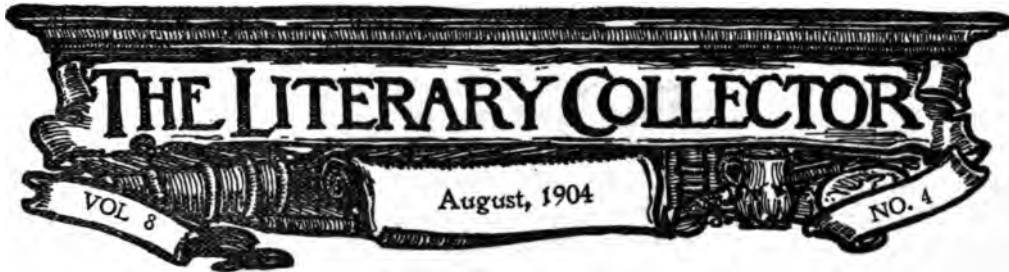


101



COMBINATION OF PETER SHORT'S MARKS
FROM P 187 SPENSER'S "FAERIE QUEEN," 1611.

UoP M



THE SIGN OF THE BRAZEN SERPENT.

PETER SHORT, PRINTER, AND HIS MARKS.

BY SYLVANUS P. THOMPSON, F. R. S.

SOME fifteen years ago the writer was engaged upon the study—still continued in the intervals of more exacting professional work—of a famous book, the *De Magnete* of Dr. William Gilbert, the work prized by all electricians and lovers of science as not only embodying the first theory of the earth's magnetism, but as being the very foundation-stone of the science of electricity. Of the personality of its author—scholar, traveller, physician—the writer need now say nothing, beyond calling to mind the circumstance that he was chief Physician to Queen Elizabeth and President of the Royal College of Physicians. Gilbert or Gylberde, as he spelled his name in the only autograph known to exist, was also a landed proprietor and head of an ancient family in Essex. For thirty years, with much labour and expenditure of money, he pur-

sued the scientific researches which were embodied in the folio volume given to the world in the year 1600.

Upon the title-page of the *De Magnete* there stands a device of a serpent entwined around a T-shaped support, which is held upright by two clasped hands emerging from rounded masses of cloud. The device is executed in a rather coarse woodcut. It is not accompanied by any explanation. Higher up on the page stands the title:—

“Gvilielmi Gil-||berti Colcestren-||sis, Medici Londi-||nensis, || de Magnete Magneti-||cisqve Corporibvs, et de mag-||no magnete tellure; Phyiologia noua, || *plurimis & argumentis, & expe-||rimentis demonfrata.*|| Londi-||ni || Excudebat Petrus Short Anno || M D C. ||”

What had this serpent to do with Gilbert's *De Magnete*? So far as I

was aware none of the myths of the magnet were connected with the serpent. It could not be part of Gilbert's armorial bearings: for these were known, and the Gilbert shield with its leopard's heads, and the phoenix as crest, exactly as granted to him in 1577 by the Heralds' College, was imprinted on the back of the title-page. Could it have anything to do with Gilbert's office as President of the Royal College of Physicians? The caduceus, so often used as the emblem of medicine, required two serpents entwined around a wand; but here was one serpent coiled upon a Tau. Lastly, could it be the printer's Mark? This seemed to be the most likely conjecture; but the name of Peter Short was unfamiliar in the names of London printers. He was not celebrated, like the Jaggard who printed the Shakespeare folios, or the Newbery of later date, nor as John Daye.

The suggestion that this device represented the brazen serpent elevated by Moses in the wilderness pointed to another explanation, for though not suggestive of a printer's business, it certainly was an appropriate symbol of the healing art of the physician. Yet no-where in anything written of or by Gilbert did there appear any allusion to the serpent.

The enquiry whether Peter Short was known to have used a Mark, indicated at first something quite different. There came into my hands a copy of Thomas Blundevile's *Art of Riding*, printed by Peter Short in 1597. Here was found Peter Short's

Mark—a star—and the definite information that it was printed by Peter Short dwelling on Bread Street Hill, "at the signe of the Starre." The residence and the Mark agreed: the serpent had nothing to do with either. Further, as Gilbert himself lived in Peter's Hill, the next of the narrow city lanes to Bread Street Hill (both crossing Knight Rider Street), the choice of so near a neighbour for his printer seemed appropriate. At the time of my inquiry further investigation as to books printed by Peter Short was impracticable. Nor did it occur to me to search the records of the Stationers' Company.

The catalogue of books printed in England before 1640 revealed the fact that Peter Short's activities had extended from 1590 to 1609, and that in the Museum were contained no fewer than fifty-five books printed by him. The whole of these were examined one by one; and a very interesting collection they proved to be. They included an edition (the fifth) of Foxe's *Actes and Monuments*—otherwise known as Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*—Samuel Daniell's poems of *The Civile Wares*, a line-for-line translation by Marlowe of the first book of *Lucan*, an edition of Thomas Tusser's *Five Hundred Pointes of Good Husbandrie*, a letter of Dr. John Dee (of crystal fame), Blundevile's *Art of Riding*, previously named, Sir Hugh Platt's *Jewell House of Art and Nature*, Morley's *Plaine Introduction to Musicke*—a notable tome—several political pamphlets, and sundry ser-

mons preached at Paule's Cross, also a *Tayminge of a Shrowe*, dated 1596, resembling Shakespeare's Comedy. Several of these works gave Short's colophon with the star. They also showed that Peter Short had also used as a Mark an open Bible surrounded by a star or halo of rays of light and held by a hand emerging from a cloud. But to reward the search, three serpents turned up. The first of these was on the title-page of a quaint controversial theological pamphlet, called "William Alablaster's seven motiues removed and confuted by John Racster. At London. Printed by Peter Short for Andrew Wise, dwelling in Pauls Church-yard, at the signe of the Angell, 1598." The book has a second title-page with same imprint at the foot, but running: "A Booke of the Seven Planets or Seven wandering motives, of William Alablasters wit, retrograded or removed by John Racster;" and on this title-page is Short's other Mark with an open book or Bible in the midst of a star. The serpent device is printed from the identical block used for *De Magnete*. The second serpent, identical also, was on the title of Marlowe's translation of the first book of *Lucan*.

The third serpent, however, was of greater interest. He made his appearance on the title-page of (Sir) Clement Edmunds' *Observations upon the first five books of Caesar's Commentaries*, a folio work also printed in 1600. He presented some notable variations from the *De Magnete* block. In that the serpent's head

was towards the left, the tau depicted as of round rough timber, and the hands supporting the tau were clasped in one another. In the device on the title of Clement Edmunds the head of the serpent was to the right, the tau depicted as of squared timber, and the two hands instead of being clasped, grasp the stem of the tau one above the other. But most eloquent was the appearance, one on each side of the device, of the two initials "P.S." This settled the question beyond all doubt: the serpent was Peter Short's printer's Mark, and had nothing to do with Dr. Gilbert or the College of Physicians.

So far the quest had succeeded: but the end was not yet. If Peter Short lived "at the signe of the Starre," and used the star Mark in his colophons, why should he have used the serpent also?

Still hunting Gilbertiana, the writer was led to examine a number of early herbals mentioned in *De Magnete*; and amongst these a small Latin duodecimo *de Simplicium Medicamentorum Facultatibus*, by Matthiolus the commentator of Dioscorides, printed at Venice in 1569 by one Vincentius Valgrisius. On opening the volume my eye fell on a serpent on the title-page. Except that the cross-bar of the tau was rectangular, the device, hands, serpent and all was exactly like that used in *De Magnete*, but smaller. But on either side appeared the letters "VIN CENT," showing that this was the Mark used by Vincentius. Enquiry showed other books printed by Vincentius

Valgrisius, ranging from 1545 (or earlier) to 1587. Amongst these were two fine quarto editions of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, one of 1556 the other of 1587, both having an elaborate engraved title, with the serpent-on-the-tau at the foot. The later edition has a colophon with the serpent (reversed) and the letters "VINCENT" at the sides; but while the title-page names Felice Valgrisi, the colophon says "appresso Valerio Bonelli MDLXXXVII." Again there is a mystery; for the serpent was not the sign of Vincentius's shop, which is described as "dal segnod'Erasmus."

Any study of printers' Marks, however slight, will show that whenever any of the early printers had succeeded in establishing a reputation, his Mark at once became the object if not of direct piracy at least of very close imitation. Thus, for example, the Aldine anchor and dolphin with its motto *Festina lente*—itself derived, if report speaks truly, from a silver medal of Vespasian presented to Aldus by Cardinal Bembo—was appropriated by Newbery and appears on the title of Camden's *Britannia*. It was also appropriated by Tardif, of Lyon, who however changed the motto to *Festina tarde*: and by Channey, of Lyon, who simply set his name Jehan de Channey on either side. Brillard, of Bourges, made the dolphin bite the shaft of the anchor; Vatel, of Paris, twined the dolphin around three lilies instead of an anchor. Rose, of Lyon, imitated the Mark with a serpent twining around a rose; Perrin, of Toulouse, adopted a swan with its

neck twisted around the shaft of a cross; and Novesianus, of Cologne, a dolphin twining round an arrow. Jean Crespin, of Geneva, 1550 to 1571, used an anchor-serpent Mark, the serpent twining, in imitation of the dolphin, around the shaft of the anchor. He sometimes added the words *Anchora sacra*, and sometimes the initials J. C. on either side. Eustace Vignon, of Geneva, (1575-1610), and Peter Aubert of the same city (1625-1633) used the same device, as also, about 1641-1650, Idzard Albert and Jon Arcer, of Frankfurt. Bassandyne, a Scottish printer, used the same device with T. B. instead of J. C. as side initials.

Similarly the Froben Mark led to imitations. Rouille, of Lyon, used an eagle on a ball between two intertwined serpents; while Köpfler, of Strassburg, substituted a cockatoo (surrounded by a glory) sitting atop of two inverted and intertwined serpents.

What wonder then that if once a single serpent twining upon a tau should make itself famous as the Mark of some distinguished early printer, serpents twining upon taus should multiply in many cities?

The brazen serpent—for such it undoubtedly represents—was in simultaneous use about 1543 in Paris, in Venice, and in London. Priority in date is doubtful, but it seems to belong to Conrad Neobar of Paris, who began to print about 1537. In the British Museum is a small volume, the *Physiognomonica* of Adamantius the Sophist, which is rich in brazen ser-

pents: I counted eight, in two sizes, the larger being used for colophons, the smaller for title-pages. The date of this work is 1540.

I also found a brazen serpent in a copy of Philipp Melancthon's *Initia Doctrinæ Physicæ*; a work which I consulted, having a curiosity to see what that learned man had to say about the magnet. As a matter of fact, he had nothing to say beyond repeating the old fable that the load-stone loses its power if it touches garlic, but can be restored by being dipped in the blood of a he-goat. But, sure enough, on the title-page of this work, printed in 1575 by Hans Lufft of Wittenberg, there stood a brazen serpent, this time borne armorially upon a shield, and without any supporting hands. Vincentius Valgrisius was, as we have seen, earlier in using the same device in Venice. In England the brazen serpent was first used in 1542 by Reginald Wolfe. Reginald or Reynold Wolfe was, it is conjectured, of foreign extraction. Possibly he borrowed the serpent Mark with the supporting hand-in-hand from Conrad Neobar: but of this there is no evidence. What is certain is that we find him in 1543 established as a master printer "at the signe of the Brasen Serpent" in "Paules Churchyard." Before the learned Dibdin had disclosed his history to me, I had, however, already gleaned the one fact I wanted; for there had come into my possession a quarto of 1550—Cranmer's *Defence of the true and Catholike doctrine of the Sacrament*, with Reginald Wolfe's imprint (a copy of

the more interest in that it once belonged to Hearne, the antiquary). This was sent me, simply because of its colophon, by a friendly bookseller, who knew I was serpent hunting. With intense interest, I noticed that the serpent in the last page was printed from the identical wood-block used fifty years later by Peter Short for the *De Magnete*. Every line, down to the small accidental notch in the under side of the serpent's first coil, was the same. There could be no doubt that in some way Reginald Wolfe's block, engraved to suit his shop sign of the brazen serpent, had descended to Peter Short.

It only remained then to track the descent by a research into the pedigree, which thanks to the records of Stationers' Hall, and to the works of antiquary Ames and dry-as-dust Dibdin, was an easy matter. But most of all was I helped by another lucky find. A chance remark in one of the works consulted that a certain Mark might be found in Bagford's collection of Title-pages in the British Museum, sent me enquiring what this Bagford collection might be. It appears that last century—when old books were cheap—one John Bagford, a bookseller, made a collection of title-pages, working the most ruthless havoc amongst the odd volumes that passed through his hands. These title-pages, with colophons and miscellaneous wood-cuts, he carefully cut round with scissors and laid down, in chronological order, in nine enormous albums, now in the Museum. It is estimated that the wretch must have

thus mutilated or destroyed no fewer than 20,000 volumes in making this collection, which, beginning with a few scraps of fifteenth century books (including one Wynkyn de Worde, and several Pynsons), consists mainly of works printed between the years 1520 and 1730.

Scandalous as is the circumstance that such a collection could be made, the collection itself is simply invaluable as a key to any enquiry as to the types and Marks used by successive generations of printers.

To cut short a long story, the genealogy of the brazen serpent Mark is as follows:—

Reginald Wolfe appears to have been no ordinary man. Perhaps his foreign descent—from a Strassburg family—may account for his familiarity with foreign tongues. He was an intimate friend of Leland the antiquary, and later of Stowe. The first book Wolfe printed (anophidian, however) was a tract of Leland's. Stowe narrates how, in 1549, Wolfe, at his own expense, removed a thousand cartloads of bones from the charnel house of St. Paul's to be buried in Finsbury Fields. For twenty-five years he busied himself in collecting material for a universal cosmography, the British and Irish portions of which were (as Holinshed himself tells in his dedication) completed in Holinshed's *Chronicles*. Stowe had himself intended to publish Wolfe's *Chronicle*, and left all the MS. in order for the press. Wolfe early prospered in business and built his house in "Paule's Churchyarde" on the site of a sup-

pressed chapel: he purchased several leases of adjacent property from the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's. He published the works of Cranmer the Archbishop, and was the first who had a patent from the crown (April 1547) entitling him to print in Greek, Latin and Hebrew. During the reign of Queen Mary he stopped printing, and busied himself with his *Chronicle*. He was an original Member of the Stationers' Company, was Master when Queen Elizabeth, in 1558, confirmed the Charter of the Company, and again occupied the Master's chair in the years 1564, 1567, and 1572. Like other printers of the time he adopted a sign—that of the brazen serpent. His first printer's Mark, which appears in two sizes, was the tree of Charity, an apple tree from which the apples are being knocked down by boys. Later, he adopted the brazen serpent for his Mark, and had blocks cut in two sizes—the larger with head to the left, being that which appears in the Cranmer volumes, having NVM XXI. engraved on the block at the sides; the smaller having the head to the right, and the letters "R. W." one on each side. He died in 1573, leaving to his wife Joan by will (witnessed by Holinshed) the chapel house. He was buried at St. Faith's Church. His daughter married John Harison (the elder), who also was a master printer.

Business at the sign of the brazen serpent was continued by Joan Wolfe, who, however, printed but three books, one of which has the smaller serpent on the title, with the initials

"R. W." on either side. At her death in 1594, she left to her son, Robert Wolfe, the chapel house, and expressly named amongst her other bequests to him the brazen serpent.

Robert Wolfe does not seem to have taken to the printing business, which indeed, after Reginald Wolfe's death appears to have been principally carried on by two of his former apprentices, Henry Bynneman and John Sheppard. The latter printed only in the years of 1576-1577. Bynneman who completed his apprenticeship in 1566 was admitted to the livery of the Stationers' Company in 1578. He appears to have previously worked for William Rastell who had the sign of the mermaid, a Mark which reappears in several of Bynneman's books. Subsequently he adopted the brazen serpent, using the same blocks in two sizes which Reginald Wolfe had produced. He also had a patent as royal printer for works in Greek and Latin. In 1577 he printed one of Harvey's *Orations*, and also Harvey's *Musarum Lachrymæ*, in both of which works both serpent Marks appear, the smaller size on the title, the larger in the colophon. He printed works of Frobisher, and of Sir Thomas More, and the *Art of Navigation* of Martinus Cortez. His 1581 edition of Aristotle's *Ethica* has the small serpent Mark. He undoubtedly continued the printing of Holinshed's *Chronicle*. In 1578, in partnership with Rafe Newberie he produced Beza's book, *An evident display of Popish Practices or Patched Paganisme*, a work the uncharitableness of which is almost atoned for by

its good printing. The same partners in 1582 printed (with the large serpent Mark) Lambard's *Eirenarcha, or the office of the Justices of the Peace*. In 1583 he printed a Latin-Greek-English Dictionary which has on its title-page the large serpent between the numbers 15, 83. Dying in the same year, he appointed as his assigns the Rafe Newbery who had worked with him, and Henry Denham, another of the little knot of printers who clustered around the centre of old London.

Henry Denham, who had joined the livery of the Stationers' Company in 1572, became in 1580 the successor of W. Seres, the whilom partner of John Daye; and from Seres he derived the Mark of the white bear, which, however, he abandoned in favor of the Starre, which sign he set up in Paternoster Row. He printed editions of Erasmus and of Melancthon, of Turbervile's *Epigrams*, of *The Perfite Hop Garden*, of Blundevile's *Four Chiefest Offices Belonging to Horsemanship* (1580), of Thos. Tusser's *Five Hundred Points of Husbandry*, and the third volume of Holinshed's *Chronicles*. Later he removed to Aldersgate Street, for we find him in 1585 publishing the *Seven Sobs*, at the Starre in Aldersgate Street. His first Mark of the Starre in 1566 had simply a seven-point star enclosed in a circular border with the motto *Os homini sublime dedit*. Later he enclosed the star and motto in a cartouche with the initials H. D. He died in 1591. He was several times fined by the Stationers' Company for printing disorderly.

During these years we find three other names of printers, John Harison (1573-1609), the same who married Reginald Wolfe's daughter, John Windet (1585), and Andrew Maunsell (1575-1596), printing or publishing at the sign of the Brazen Serpent. They appear, as also G. Bishop, to have been accommodated in the extensive chapel house in St. Paul's Churchyard while H. Bynnemann was in possession: but though this place is named in their imprint, none of them save Bynneman and Sheppard appears to have used the brazen serpent as his Mark.

On March 1st, 1588-9, Peter Short took out his redemption as a member of the Stationers' Company, and paid six shillings. The entry is as follows: "Primo die marcij. Peter Short Sworne and admitted A freman of this company per Redempcione[m] vjs."

In July, 1591, occurs the first register of work entered by him at Stationers' Hall. This was *The poore man's pater noster* . . . by Thomas Tymne, and was entered in the names of Short and his partner Richard Yardley. In the next year they entered for their registration *the ffourthe booke of the Imitacion of Christe*. For each register the fee of sixpence was paid by them. Yardley's name disappears after 1593.

On May 2d, 1594, Short entered a book entitled: *A plesant Conceyted historie called 'the Tayminge of a Shrowe.'* Of this work, a small thin octavo, I know nothing save that it is a comedy closely suggestive of the later comedy of Shakespeare. The

heroine is called Kate or Katherine: but her strenuous lover is called Ferando instead of Petruchio, and her father's name is Alfonso.

In 1595, Short printed for Ponsonby a very beautiful little volume, *The Tragedie of Antonie. Doone into English by the Countesse of Pembroke*. There is a copy of this in the British Museum.

The same year Peter Short entered for copy Sir Hugh Platt's *Jewell House of Art and Nature*, and a smaller Latin work by the same author.

Under the date July 1st, 1598, ten years after his admission to the Company, we find the entry on the register:—"Peter Shorte sworne and admitted into the Lyverye of this Compagnye ijli." At the same date there are several similar entries of admission, including one of Humfrey Lownes.

That Peter Short succeeded to H. Denham's business is clear from his having not only adopted the sign of the Starre, but from his use of the actual block with the H. D. initials in the cartouche. The following entry appears in the records of the Stationers' Company:

"At a court holden at Stationers' Hall, 7 April 1595, Yt is agreed that P. Short shall finish the impression of the B. of Martyrs from the place where Mr. Denham left—For which he is to have after the rate of xvijs, vjd. for a booke,—for paper and printing—The paper shall be rated at vjs. the ream."

This was the fifth edition of Foxe's

Actes and Monuments already mentioned.

Peter Short set up the signe of the Starre in Bread Street Hill, just out of St. Paul's Churchyard, and had cut a new Mark, wherein the Starre is expanded so as to surround a book (or Bible perhaps) beneath a laurel wreath with a pair of open wings, held by a hand issuing from the clouds. The whole is enclosed in a compartment or cartouche with the motto: *Et usque ad nubes veritas tua*. Below the cartouche are the initials P. S. Besides these two Marks—Denham's star and his own—he used, as we have seen, the brazen serpent. Wolfe's own blocks in two sizes (to the smaller of which he on one occasion at least added the side initials P. S.), he doubtless obtained from Denham who had been, as stated above, one of Bynneman's assigns. There is no evidence that Short used the serpent Mark before 1597.

Two other Marks appear, once each, in books printed by Peter Short. One of these, which may be a mere ornament and not a true Mark, is a boar's head surmounting a coronet, surrounded by the motto *Auspicante Deo*, and set in a smaller cartouche. This appears on the title of an odd pamphlet of ten pages by Sir Hugh Platt, entitled: "A || discoverie of cer||tain English wants, which are roy-||ally supplied in this Treatise || by H. Platt of *Lincolnes* || Inne Esquier. || || Printed at London by || P. S. for William Ponsonby. || 1595||"

In one work, printed by Short for N. Ling, he inserted Ling's Mark, a

honeysuckle in a square ornamental border with emblematic figures. This is found on the title-page of Michael Drayton's book of Poems entitled *England's Heroicall Epistles*. The first Epistle in this collection is supposed to be from Fair Rosamond to King Henry II; the second is the King's reply. Other Epistles are from Edward the Black Prince to Alice, Countess of Salisbury, and her reply to him. The same appears on the title-page of R. Mark Allot's *England's Parnassus*, a small quarto of 1600, which contains the earliest selection of passages from Shakespeare. It is described as "imprinted at London for N. L., W. B. and T. H."

There are also in existence several books printed by Short with wood-engraved borders to the titles, having the letters P. S. let in, apparently in place of some prior initials. One of these, a cartouche with birds at the top, four medallions of queens at the sides and a skeleton seated at the bottom, occurs several times. In one case ("Foure Sermons" by H. Smith) the Starre and Bible Mark is set in the middle of this frame. Another wood-block title border has at the top the Royal Arms of England and France quartered, at the sides four biblical medallions, at the foot an angel holding a seven-branched candlestick and a book. On either side are inserted the letters P. S.; and below again two pendant shields, one bearing the arms of the City of London, the other those of the Stationers' Company.

Short appears to have become pretty well-known as a printer. He printed

a number of musical books, amongst them a handsome folio, entered October, 1596, to himself and W. Hoskins, entitled *A Playne and Easie Introduction to Musicke*, by Thomas Morley, gentleman of her Maiesties Chappell.

In June, 1598, there was entered for copy in the names of Symon Waterson, Peter Short, and Thomas Adams, a book entitled "'The Woorkes of fflave Joseph sonne of Matthias,' to be translated out of French into Englishe, and to be their copie to printe, bringinge better and sufficient aucthoryty for yt first / and before they print yt."/

The next date brings Peter Short's name before us in a different light. In June, 1599, appeared a proclamation headed "4 Reginae Elizabeth," and preceded by a list of condemned works, and by a set of 'commandments,' in which the Stationers' Company, and in particular fourteen printers who are explicitly named, are admonished of the issue of the same. This proclamation is signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. The condemned books include Hall's *Virgidemiarium* or *biting satyres*, Ling's *Epigrams*, and *The Fifteen joys of Marriage*. The commandments are brief and include the following:—

"That noe Satyres or Epigrams be printed hereafter.

"That noe English historyes be printed excepte they bee allowed by some of her maiesties privi Counsell.

"That no playes be printed excepte they bee allowed by suche as haue aucthorytie.

"That all Nasshes bookes and Doctor Harveys bookes be taken where-soeuer they maye be found and that none of theire bookes bee euer pritted hereafter.

"Such bookes as can be found or are already taken of the Argumentes aforesaid or any of the bookes aboue expressed lett them bee presentlye broughte to the Bishop of London to be burnte."

The register of Stationers' Hall, in which this proclamation is recorded adds:—

"Theis bookes presently therevppon were burnte in the hall."

The Archbishop was none other than the celebrated John Whitgift, and the Bishop, Richard Bancroft, the founder of the Bancroft School. Amongst the fourteen printers specially cited appears the name of "Peeter Shorte," along with Adam Islip (who had previously been fined by the Company for "printing disorderly"), Creed and Allde. It does not appear for what cause Short had been singled out.

This proclamation seems to have been quite ineffective, for there exists a duodecimo edition of Hall's *Virgidemiarium* of which the first three "Bookes of Toothlesse Satyres" bear the imprint "John Harison for Robert Dexter, 1602," while the last three "bookes" of the six, bound up with them, are printed by "R. Dexter at the Brazen Serpent in Paules Church Yard, 1599."

The next entry is of different interest. It runs thus:—"vij Decembris [1599] peter Short. Entred for his copie vnder the handes of the wardens

A booke Called GULIELMI GILBERTI *De Magnete* vjd." This is the ever-famous book on the magnet which alone suffices to make its printer immortal.

The next entry touching master Peter is on the 7th of February, 1600. He entered for copy a work "Observations vpon the ffyve first bookes of Caesars Commentaries: settinge forth the Practise of the Art militarie in the tyme of the Romaine Empyre." This was by Clement Edmunds who was Recorder of the City. In July, 1601, we find another record relating to the same.

"Master ponsonby Entred for his copie in full Court holden this day by assignment from peter Short a booke called *observations vppon the first ffyve bookes of CAESAR'S commentaries settinge forth the practise of the Art military in the tyme of the Romaine Emperors.*"

All through 1601 and 1602 Peter Short appears to have been busy, as there are entered for copy in the registers, numerous books, songs, sermons, works on agriculture, and poems. On one festive occasion he was chosen to represent his Company or we find:—

"29 Octobris [1601]. 43 Regin[a]e

This yere	
master Dawson	} went to my Lord
master Waterson	
master Short	
	maiours feast."

On another occasion he was called upon to pay a fine:—

"12 April [1602]. Receaved of Master Short for kepinge a prentise vnrepresented about th[e] appointed tyme xijd."

The last entry on the register relating to him is this:—

"ult Decembris [1602] Master Short. Entred for his Copie a booke called *A newe Cheape and Delicate fyer of Cole baules wherein Sea Cole is by the mixeture of other Combustable bodies bothe Swetned and multiplied.*"

Of Peter Short's life little is known. It is recorded to his honour in the Registers of the Stationers' Company that he gave to the use of the poor of the Company forty shillings a year, arising out of a leasehold house which he held from Bartholomew's Hospital. He seems to have died quite young, in 1603. His principal works have already been enumerated. His widow appears to have carried on his business for a little time, for at least three books were printed in the years 1603 and 1604, by E. Short.

In 1604 she was re-married to Humphrey Lownes, son of a country gentleman, who continued to use the same types and Marks that Peter Short had used, and resided in the same house on Bread Street Hill. Peter Short's own star, as well as Denham's, and the two brazen serpents of Wolfe, are freely employed by him from 1604 to 1618, though books are found from 1592 to 1630, with the initials of H. L. as printer. These works include editions of Drayton, Du Bartas, Blundevile, Bishop Jewell, Fracastorio, Sir Hugh Platt, Thomas Morley (*Art of Musicke*), George Wither (*Abuses Stript*, 1615), and Edmund Spenser. One single example of his press splendidly illustrates the

descent of these various Marks. The collected edition of Spenser's *Faerie Queen*, with his other poems—the first collected edition—of date 1611, presents quite a collection of typhographical objects. The engraved rustic border to the title was cut in 1593 for Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*—to which it is appropriate. The title of the second part is an elaborate combination of all Peter Short's Marks. It had been used as first title of the 1609 edition of the *Faerie Queen* alone. In the central oval compartment is the brazen serpent supported by the hands—not clasped—while for the first time the bottom of the "T" is fashioned as an anchor, as Jean Crespin, of Geneva, had fashioned it in 1560. On the right is Denham's Starre with his motto: on the left, Peter Short's variety of the same, with the book. Below it are the arms of the Stationers' Company and Peter Short's "monogram," the latter apparently imitated from that of Richard Jugge. It is not known to occur elsewhere. I conjecture that this Mark was, in reality, made for Peter Short before his death, though I cannot find that he himself actually used it. On p. 364, as a colophon to the *Faerie Queen* is Denham's Starre with "H. D." in the cartouche. Later, at signature C 4, is Bynneman's Mark of the Mermaid as title to the *Amoretti*. On D 7 we suddenly come on Wolfe's larger brazen serpent on the title of the *Epithalamion*, and, three pages further on, the arms of the Stationers' Company on the title of the *Foure Hymnes*. Several of

these Marks recur in the volume.

Humphrey Lownes also used other Marks. In 1614, he employed the oval central compartment of the Peter Short combination. In 1616, we find him using the lamb—one of the Stationers' Company's emblems. The former of these descended in 1629 to John Haviland, who printed the *New Atlantis*, and various other works, several of which bear this Mark, surrounded by a border bearing two inscriptions. Below is *Anchora fidei*; above is the text *Sic elevabitur filius hominis*.

Humphrey Lownes, though in 1617 he was Upper Warden, was not regarded with favour by the Stationers' Company. In the list of successors in the registers occurs the following entry, made apparently about 1635.

"1603 Hump [h]rey Lowndes married Shortes widdowe || holds ye printing house || though incapable."

1631 Robert Yo[u]ng gets in || partner with Lownes."

1635 Robert Yo[u]ng after || Lowndes death holds || the house without any || admittance (hath 4 presses)."

Another entry in 1635 is:—"Master Roberte Young succeeded his partner Master Lownes about 6 yeers since . . . never admitted neither was his partner capable."

Robert Young printed works for a dozen years. Amongst them were editions of Du Bartas (with Elstracke's engraved title) of Sir Hugh Platt, and of Thomas à Kempis. No work of his is known to contain the serpent Mark.

The latest date at which I have been able to trace Wolfe's serpent block is 1617, when it was in Humphrey Lownes' hands; while the later block with anchor flukes can be traced to about 1639. On the Continent, Crespin's successors continued to use the same device, and in France, where Jean Bien-né had employed a serpent-anchor Mark from 1566-1588. There were also some later examples.

In England, Adam Islip, about 1604, imitated the Mark with a winged dragon twining round a stick, borne

by two hands emerging from clouds.

The only serpent Mark I have found in the eighteenth century is German, a wretched device of one Theophilus Georgi of Leipzig (1711), with the serpent on its tau, tortured into the semblance of the initials "T. G."

The English serpent Marks disappeared half a century before. The Great Fire of London, which broke up all the traditions of English printing, burned up the old wood-blocks.

[Read before the London Bibliographical Society, May 17, 1897. Reprinted from their *Transactions*.]

FIRST EDITIONS OF HAWTHORNE.

THE various celebrations of Hawthorne's birth-centennial have stimulated the interest of the whole country in its foremost novelist, and have caused the gathering of numbers of loan exhibitions of Hawthorne relics, very instructive to collectors. Hawthorne has been so long a center of bibliographical activity that collectors are pretty well informed on the subject of his first editions, record prices, and the other things necessary to know. John P. Anderson's bibliography, in Moncure D. Conway's *Life of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (London, Walter Scott, 1890), has supplied the most needful information about editions. The prices of the rarer books are kept well up into the hundreds by the rivalry of some of the big collectors. For instance, in New York City alone are the three large private collections of Mr. J. Chester Chamberlain, many of whose first editions were on view at the Lenox Library Hawthorne exhibition last month; Mr. Frank Maier, whose enthusiasm carried him, by sea, to the Salem exhibition last month in his yacht, the *Fanshawe*; and Mr. S. H. Wakeman, who has perhaps the most valuable collection in existence, including the manuscript of Hawthorne's diary, which alone cost him fifteen thousand dollars.

These and a few other big collectors make it well-nigh impossible for any mere man to aspire to a complete collection of the first editions. But regarding one of our own authors, whose books have been widely circulated and carefully treasured in very many homes during the last seventy-five years, there can be no hopelessness of interesting finds at any place and any time. The simple check list given below of the first publication of Hawthorne's works in book or pamphlet form, will be found quite complete. It would be too much to say the same of the list of references to magazines containing the first appearances of single pieces, and it would interest us to be informed of others in the possession of any of our subscribers.

The collations and height in inches of the first editions are taken from the copies in Mr. Frank Maier's collection, which contains them all, with the exception of numbers 4, 11 and 13—a remarkable collection, nearly all in original covers, uncut, and some with interesting autographs and other marks of valued associations.

FIRST EDITIONS.

1.

Fanshawe. A Tale. [Quotation] Boston Marsh & Capen, 362 Washington Street. Press of Putnam & Hunt, 1828.

141 p. 12mo., 7½ inches tall, paper label.

This was Hawthorne's first book, anonymously published and never acknowledged by its author. Only a few copies are now known. Record price, J. J. May sale, 1903. \$840.00.

2.

Twice-Told Tales. [Device of American Stationers' Co.] Boston: American Stationers' Co., J. B. Russell, 1837.

5 l, 11-334 p, 12mo, 7⅞ in.

The first series. Hawthorne's name appears for the first time on a title-page.

Record price, \$40.00.

3.

Peter Parley's Universal History, on the Basis of Geography. For the use of families. Illustrated by maps and engravings. Boston: American Stationers' Company, John B. Russell, 1837.

2 vols. illus. iv, 380 p., 374 p. square 8vo. 10¼ in. Peter Parley was the pseudonym of Samuel Griswold Goodrich. The history was anonymously edited by Hawthorne and his sister.

Record price, \$100.00.

4.

Time's Portraiture. Being the Carrier's Address to the patrons of the Salem Gazette for the first of January, 1838. [Salem, 1837.]

Broadside. Folio, 14 x 20 in., printed within borders.

The rarest Hawthorne item. Only three copies known, those belonging to Mr. Wakeman, Mr. Chamberlain, and the Boston Public Library. No copy has been sold at auction. It was reprinted in 8 p. 8vo, in 1853, and a copy of this reprint sold at the French-Chubbuck sale, 1904, for \$60.00. Reprinted again in "The Christmas Locket" for 1870, where it was represented as being reprinted for the first time. Valued also for its reference, in a foot-note, to the change of his name from Hathorne, with the remark: "Time seldom has occasion to mention the gentleman's name, so that it is no great matter how he spells or pronounces it."

5.

The Sister Years. Being the Carrier's Address to the patrons of the

Salem Gazette, for the first of January, 1839. Salem, 1839.

8 p. 8vo, 9 $\frac{5}{8}$ in., paper.

Doubtless printed late in 1838, in spite of the imprinted date. Only five copies known. The only copy sold at auction brought \$290.00.

6.

The Gentle Boy. A Thrice Told Tale. With an original illustration. Boston: Weeks, Jordan & Co. New York & London: Wiley & Putnam, 1839.

20 p. oblong 4to, 10x18 in. Cover title, frontispiece.

Record price [original covers, uncut, library stamp], Libbie's, 1902, \$143.00.

7.

Grandfather's Chair. A History for Youth. Boston: E. P. Peabody. New York: Wiley & Putnam, 1841.

140 p. 24mo, 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. Paper label on front cover. The Preface is dated "Boston, November, 1840."

Record price, Appleton sale, 1903, \$76.00.

8.

Famous Old People. Being the second epoch of Grandfather's Chair. Boston: E. P. Peabody, 1841.

158 p. 24mo, 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. Paper label on front cover.

Preface dated "Boston, Dec. 30, 1840."

Record price, Appleton sale, 1903, \$76.00.

9.

Liberty Tree: with the Last Words of Grandfather's Chair. Boston: E. P. Peabody, 1841.

160 p. 24mo. Paper label on front cover.

Preface dated "Boston, Feb. 27, 1841."

Record price, Arnold sale, 1901, \$48.00.

10.

Biographical Stories for Children. Benjamin West, Sir Isaac Newton, Samuel Johnson, Oliver Cromwell, Benjamin Franklin, Queen Christina.

Boston: Tappan and Dennet, 1842.

161 p. 18mo.

Record price, Arnold sale, 1901, \$34.50.

11.

The Sunday School Society's Gift. [Samuel Johnson. Boston, 1842.]

16 p. 16mo. Paper cover.

No copy has been sold at auction.

12.

Twice Told Tales. Boston: James Munroe and Company, 1842.

2 vols. 2 l., 331 p.: 2 l., 356 p. 8vo, 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ in.

Volume I is the second edition of the First Series, but the Second Series appears for the first time in Volume II.

Record price, Arnold sale, 1901. \$22.00.

13.

The Celestial Railroad. Boston: Published by Wilder & Co., 1843.

32 p. 16mo. Paper cover, with cover title.

Record price, Whipple sale, 1903, 240.00.

14.

Journal of an African Cruiser. Comprising Sketches of the Canaries, the Cape de Verds, Liberia, Madeira, Sierra Leone, and other places of interest on the West Coast of Africa. By an officer of the U. S. Navy. Edited by Nathaniel Hawthorne. New York & London: Wiley and Putnam, 1845.

5 l., 179 p. 12mo, 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ in.

The author was Horatio Bridge, a classmate of Hawthorne at Bowdoin. Issued in Wiley & Putnam's Library of American Books.

Record price, Brown sale, 1903, \$21.00.

15.

Mosses from an Old Manse. In two parts. New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1846.

Issued in 2 parts, in straw-colored paper covers. 3 l., 207 p.: 3 l., 211 p. 12mo, 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. In Wiley & Putnam's Library of American Books.

Record price, Bangs, 1902, \$170.00.

16.

The Scarlet Letter. A Romance. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, 1850.

iv, 322 p. 8vo. 7½ in.

Of the two issues of 1850, the first is distinguished by the misprint "reduplicate" in line 20 of p. 21, which is changed to "repudiate" in the second issue. The second has also an added preface dated "Salem, March 30, 1850," and the prefatory pages are six in number.

Record price, Arnold sale, 1901, \$32.00.

17.

The House of the Seven Gables. A Romance. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, 1851.

344 p. 8vo. 7½ in.

Record price, Arnold sale, 1901, \$15.50.

18.

True Stories from History and Biography. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, 1851.

4 l., 335 p. Plates, 8vo, 6½ in.

Copyright, 1850. "Cambridge: Printed by Bolles and Houghton."

Record price, Bangs, 1902, \$14.00.

19.

The Snow-Image, and other Tales. London, Henry G. Bohn, 1851.

4 l., 176 p., 8vo, 7¼ in.

Record price, Arnold sale, 1901, \$5.00.

The first American edition had the title: *The Snow Image and other Twice-Told Tales*. Boston: Ticknor, Reed and Fields, 1852.

20.

The Blithedale Romance. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, 1852.

288 p. 8vo, 7½ in.

Record price, Arnold sale, 1901, \$10.50.

21.

A Wonder-Book for Girls and Boys. With engravings by Baker from designs by Billings. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, 1852.

256 p. plates. 8vo, 6½ in.

Record price, Arnold sale, 1901, \$10.00.

22.

Life of Franklin Pierce. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, 1852.

144 p. Portrait. 12mo, 7½ in., paper covers.

Record price, Brown sale, Anderson's, 1903, \$7.00.

23.

Tanglewood Tales, for Girls and Boys. Being a second Wonder-Book. With fine illustrations. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, 1853.

336 p. illus. 8vo. 6½ in.

Record price, Bangs, 1902, \$17.00.

24.

The Marble Faun. Or, the Romance of Monte Beni. In two volumes. Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1860.

2 vols. 283 p.: 284 p. 12mo, 7½ in.

The second edition, also issued in 1860, has a "Conclusion," swelling the second volume to 288 pages.

Record price, Arnold sale, 1901, \$11.50.

25.

Our Old Home. A Series of English Sketches. Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1863.

398 p. 8vo, 7¼ in.

Dedicated to Franklin Pierce.

Record price, Arnold sale, 1901, \$5.50.

POSTHUMOUS WORKS.

26.

Pansie. A Fragment. The last literary effort of Nathaniel Hawthorne. London. John Camden Hotten. [1864.]

48 p. with 8 l. of advertisements. 8vo, 6½ in. Paper covers with cover title.

Record price, Appleton sale, 1903, \$5.00.

27.

Passages from the American Note-Books. Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1868.

2 vols. 1 l., 222 p.: 1 l., 228 p. 12mo. 7½ in.

The first English edition was issued the same year by Smith, Elder and Co., in 2 vols. 8vo. Record price, Whipple sale, 1903, \$9.00.

28.

Passages from the English Note-Books. Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co., 1870.

2 vols. viii, 410 p.: 1 l., 393 p. 12mo. 7½ in.

The preface, by Sophia Hawthorne, is dated "Dresden, April, 1870."

The first English edition, "London: Strahan & Co., 1870," 2 vols. 8vo, has a preface by Sophia Hawthorne, dated "The Knoll, Blackheath, May, 1870."

Record price, Bangs, 1902, 12.50.

29.

Passages from the French and Italian Note-Books. London: Strahan & Co., 1871.

2 vols. 2 l., 371 p.: 2 l., 368 p. 8vo. 7½ in.

The English edition preceded the American, which, though copyrighted in 1871, bears the imprint "Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1872," 2 vols. 1 l., 307 p.: 1 l., 306 p. 12mo.

Record price, Whipple sale, 1903, \$11.00.

30.

Septimius Felton. Or, the Elixir of Life. Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1872.

229 p. 12mo. 7 in. Copyrighted 1871.

Preface signed by Una Hawthorne.

Record price, Arnold sale, 1901, \$7.50.

31.

The Dolliver Romance, and other Pieces. Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1876.

213 p., 12mo, 7 in.

First collected edition.

Record price, Bangs, 1902, \$4.25.

32.

Fanshawe, and other Pieces. Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1876.

243 p., 12mo, 7 in.

First collected edition.

33.

Dr. Grimshawe's Secret. A Romance. Edited, with Preface and Notes, by Julian Hawthorne. Boston: James R. Osgood & Company, 1883.

xiii, 368 p. 8vo. 7½ in.

There was also a large-paper edition of 250 copies, with an extra Cambridge title-page, 1 illus., 4 p. facsimile.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO OCCASIONAL PUBLICATIONS.

Main Street. In *Aesthetic Papers*. Edited by Elizabeth P. Peabody. Boston: The Editor. New York: G. P. Putnam, 1849. p. 145-174.

The Snow-Image. In *The Memorial*: written by Friends of the late Mrs. Osgood. Edited by Mary E. Hewitt. New York: George P. Putnam, 1851. p. 41-58.

Letter from Hawthorne. The Wayside, August 28th, 1860. [Browne's Folly] In *The Weal-Reaf*. A record of the Essex Institute Fair, Sept. 5 and 6, 1860. p. 14, 24.

A Virtuoso's Collection. In *Favorite Authors*. A Companion-Book of Prose and Poetry. Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1881. p. 1-20.

Preface by Nathaniel Hawthorne. In *The Philosophy of the Plays of Shakespeare Unfolded*. By Delia Bacon. London: Groombridge and Sons, 1857.

SOME CONTRIBUTIONS TO PERIODICALS.

The American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge. Volume II. Boston: Published by Charles Bowen, 1836.

Numbers 7-12 (March-August, 1836) were edited by Hawthorne, who, with the assistance

of his sister, wrote or edited most of the contents.

In *The American Monthly Magazine*.

Thomas Green Fessenden. Jan. 1838, p. 30-41.

The Threefold Destiny. A Faëry Legend. By Ashley Allen Boyce [pseud.] Mar. 1838, p. 228-235.

In *Arcturus*. A Journal of Books and Opinions.

The Old Maid in the Winding-Sheet. A Twice-Told Tale. Jan. 1842, p. 120-130.

The Man of Adamant. Feb. 1842, p. 161-198.

The Canterbury Pilgrims. Mar. 1842, p. 299-309.

In *The Athenaeum*.

Unpublished Letters of Nathaniel Hawthorne. Aug. 10, 17, 1889, p. 191-2, 225.

In *The Atlantic Monthly*.

Some of the Haunts of Burns. By a tourist without imagination or enthusiasm. Oct. 1860, p. 385-395.

Near Oxford. Oct. 1861, p. 385-397. Pilgrimage to Old Boston. Jan. 1862, p. 88-101.

Chiefly about War Matters. By a peaceable man. July 1862, p. 43-61.

Leamington Spa. Oct. 1862, p. 451-462.

About Warwick. Dec. 1862, p. 708-720.

Recollections of a Gifted Woman. Jan. 1863, p. 43-58.

A London Suburb. Mar. 1863, p. 306-321.

Up the Thames. May 1863, p. 598-614.

Outside Glimpses of English Poverty. July 1863, p. 36-51.

Civic Banquets. Aug. 1863, p. 195-212.

A Scene from the Dolliver Romance. July 1864, p. 101-109.

Another Scene from the Dolliver Romance. Jan. 1865, p. 1-7.

Passages from Hawthorne's Note-Books. Jan.-Dec., 1866.

Continued through 12 numbers.

A Passage from Hawthorne's English Note-Books. July 1867, p. 15-21.

Hawthorne in the Boston Custom-House. Extracts from his private letters. Jan. 1868, p. 106-111.

Septimius Felton: or, The Elixir of Life. Jan.-Aug. 1872.

Continued through 8 numbers.

In *The Boston Book*. Being Specimens of Metropolitan Literature. Howe's Masquerade. 1841, p. 168-189.

In *The Dollar Magazine*.

Ethan Brand; or, The Unpardonable Sin. May 1851, p. 193-201.

In *Godey's Magazine and Lady's Book*.

Drowne's Wooden Image. 1850, p. 11-29.

In *The Knickerbocker, or New York Monthly Magazine*.

The Fountain of Youth. Jan. 1837, p. 27-33.

Reprinted in *Twice-Told Tales*, as Dr. Heidegger's Experiment.

A Bell's Biography. Mar. 1837, p. 219-223.

Edward Fane's Rosebud. Sept. 1837, p. 195-199.

- In *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*.
 Uttoxeter. Apr. 1857, p. 639-641.
 A Group of Hawthorne Letters.
 Mar. 1904, p. 602-607.
- In *The International Monthly Magazine*.
 Feathertop. A Moralized Legend.
 Feb.-Mar. 1852, p. 182-186, 333-337.
- In *The Literary World*.
 The Supernaturalism of New England, by J. G. Whittier. [A review.] Aug. 17, 1847, p. 247-248.
- In *The New England Magazine*.
 The Story Teller: including At Home. A Flight in the Fog. A Fellow-Traveler. The Village Theatre. Mr. Higginbotham's Catastrophe. vol. 7, 1834, p. 352-358, 449-459.
 The Gray Champion. Vol. 8, 1835, p. 20-26.
 Old News. Vol. 8, p. 81-88, 170-178, 365-370.
 My Visit to Niagara. Vol. 8, p. 91-96.
 Young Goodman Brown. vol. 8, p. 249-260.
 Wakefield. Vol. 8, p. 341-347.
 The Ambitious Guest. vol. 8, p. 425-431.
 Graves and Goblins. vol. 8, p. 438-444.
 A Rill from the Town-Pump. vol. 8, p. 473-478.
 The Old Maid in the Winding-Sheet. vol. 9, 1835, p. 8-16.
 The Vision of the Fountain. vol. 9, p. 99-104.
 Sketches from Memory. vol. 9, p. 321-326.
 The Devil in Manuscript. By Ashley A. Royce [pseud.] vol. 9, p. 340-345.
- In *The Nineteenth Century*.
 The Ghost of Dr. Harris. From an Original MS. of Nathaniel Hawthorne, dedicated to Mrs. J. P. Heywood. Jan. 1900, p. 88-93.
- In *The Pioneer*. A Literary and Critical Magazine.
 The Hall of Phantasy. Feb. 1843, p. 49-55.
 The Birth-Mark. Mar. 1843, p. 113-119.
- In *Sargent's New Monthly Magazine*.
 The Old Apple Dealer. 1843. Vol. 1. p. 21.
 The Antique Ring. 1843. vol. 1, p. 80.
- In *The Token*, edited by S. G. Goodrich. Annual, Boston;
 The Young Provincial. 1830.
 Sights from a Steeple. 1831.
 The Wives of the Dead. My Kinsman, Major Molineux. Roger Malvin's Burial. The Gentle Boy. 1832.
 The Seven Vagabonds. Sir William Pepperell. Canterbury Pilgrims. 1833.
 The Modern Job; or, the Philosopher's Stone. 1834.
 The Haunted Mind. Alice Doane's Appeal. The Mermaid. 1835.
 The Wedding Knell. The May Pole of Merry Mount. The Minister's Black Veil. 1836.
 Monsieur du Miroir. Mrs. Bullfrog. Sunday at Home. The Man of Adamant. David Swan. The Great Carbuncle. Fancy's Show-Box. The Prophetic Pictures. 1837.
 Sylph Etherege. Peter Goldthwait's Treasure. Endicott and the Red.

- Cross. Night Sketches Beneath an Umbrella. The Shaker Bridal. 1838.
- In *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review*.
- The Toll-Gatherer's Day. Oct. 1837, p. 31-35.
- Footprints on the Sea-Shore. Jan. 1838, p. 190-197.
- Snow-Flakes. Feb. 1838, p. 355-359.
- Tales of the Province-House: Including Howe's Masquerade, May 1838, p. 129-140. Edward Randolph's Portrait, July 1838, p. 360-369. Lady Eleanor's Mantle, Dec. 1838, p. 321-332. Old Esther Dudley, Jan. 1839, p. 51-59.
- Chippings with a Chisel. Sept. 1838, p. 18-26.
- Biographical Sketch of Jonathan Cilley. With portrait. Sept. 1838, p. 67-76.
- John Inglefield's Thanksgiving. By Rev. A. A. Royce [pseud.] Mar. 1840, p. 209-212.
- The New Adam and Eve. Feb. 1843, p. 146-155.
- Egotism: or the Bosom Serpent. From the Unpublished Allegories of the Heart. Mar. 1843, p. 255-261.
- The Procession of Life. Apr. 1843, p. 360-366.
- The Celestial Railroad. May 1843, p. 515-523.
- Birds and Bird-Voices. June 1843, p. 604-608.
- The Two Widows, July 1843, p. 85-88.
- Had already appeared as *The Wives of the Dead*, in *The Token*, 1832.
- Roger Malvin's Burial. Aug. 1843, p. 186-196.
- Fire-Worship. Dec. 1843, p. 627-630.
- The Christmas Banquet. From the unpublished *Allegories of the Heart*. Jan. 1844, p. 78-87.
- The Intelligence Office. Mar. 1844, p. 269-275.
- The Artist of the Beautiful. June 1844, p. 605-617.
- A Select Party. July 1844, p. 33-40.
- A Book of Autographs. Nov. 1844, p. 454-461.
- Writings of Aubepine. Dec. 1844, p. 545-560.
- P's Correspondence. Apr. 1845, p. 337-345.
- Papers of an Old Dartmouth Prisoner. Edited by Nathaniel Hawthorne. Jan., Feb., Mar., May, June 1846, p. 31-39, 97-111, 200-212, 360-368, 457-465: Aug. Sept. 1846, p. 141-148, 209-217.

WAS PHILLIS WHEATLEY AMERICA'S FIRST NEGRO POET?

BY OSCAR WEGELIN

IN her well written (and in the main correct) article on "The First Negro Poet of America" in *THE LITERARY COLLECTOR* for July, Mrs. Emily Foster Happer makes the erroneous statement that Phillis Wheatley was the only negro versifier in America during the eighteenth century. I say erroneous, not with any attempt to detract from the merits of the article but to attempt to prove false, if possible, the time worn statement that Phillis Wheatley was the first poet of color on this continent. As far as I have been enabled to discover, the first poem from her pen was written in 1767. This was a poem on Harvard, and is included in her collected works published in 1773.

I cannot at this time prove that anything anterior to this date can be traced, written by any one of her race, but shall attempt to show that at least one other poet of color was living in America contemporary with her, who certainly did issue some of his work during the eighteenth century.

Of Jupiter Hammon little is known to-day except what may be culled from the few insignificant pamphlets still extant, which bear his name and which were undoubtedly written by him.

This writer was a slave belonging to John Lloyd of Queen's Village, on Long Island. He published several pamphlets while a resident of Hartford, Conn., during the Revolutionary War, which were mainly written to stimulate obedience in slaves to their masters.

These works are mentioned in *An Address to the Negroes of the State of New York*, which was issued in New York and Philadelphia in 1787. The author does not give their titles, however, and I have been unable to locate copies of them.

The poem which would place Hammon as the first of negro poets in America (in point of time) was issued as a broadside. One copy only can be traced, but the owner has unfortunately mislaid it and does not remember the title or exact date. The possessor is, however, an authority on early American poetry and he is quite certain that the date is not much later than 1760. The place of publication was Hartford.

If the above date is correct or nearly so, it will be seen at once that the laurels worn so long by Miss Wheatley would fall to the ground.

In the *Address to the Negroes*, which I have taken the trouble to read, the author gives his age as

seventy years. This would make him forty-three years old in 1760, certainly old enough to write poetry.

Another poem written by Hammon was *A Dialogue Entitled, the Kind Master and Dutiful Servant*. It was issued at Hartford about 1790. A copy is owned by the possessor of the broadside. That Hammon's poetry was hardly up to the standard of Miss Wheatley's will be seen by the following lines, which I give from recollection, believing them to be correct.

Believe in me my Christian Friends
Believe in your Friend Hammon,
You cannot serve the Christian God
And serve the God of Mammon.

That Hammon was a good and dutiful servant will be seen by a perusal of his *Address to the Negroes*. He in this work exhorts them to serve their masters, although brutal, with Christian forbearance and resignation. He asks of them why any of them should wish freedom, when owned by masters who are kind to them. "As for myself," he adds, "My age is against my being enabled to

earn a living if thrown upon my own resources."

That this work was popular both with the negroes and the whites is proved by the fact that at least three editions were printed, one as late as 1806, when the author must have been long since dead. Three residents of Oyster Bay attest over their own signatures in the 1806 edition that Hammon was a man of good parts and an esteemed neighbor; and the publishers of the 1787 edition assert that all contained therein was written by the negro, the only changes being those of spelling in which Hammon was undoubtedly deficient.

I have however been unable to pluck the wreath from the dusky brow of the slave girl of Boston, nor do I wish to do so without further evidence, which may be forthcoming some day when the mislaid broadside shall come to light. Till that time therefore let us still regard Phillis Wheatley, not as the only negro poet of America in the eighteenth century, but as the first whose poems were published.



LIST OF BOOKS PRINTED IN CONNECTICUT, 1709-1800. By James Hammond Trumbull, LL.D., L. H. D. [Device, Acorn Club, Connecticut] MDCCCIV.

Connecticut has been blessed with some famous bibliophiles and bibliographers. None, perhaps, has done better service to his State than James Hammond Trumbull, the first State Librarian. Mr. Trumbull's labors extended over many years. In his capacity as Assistant Secretary of State from 1847 to 1855, with an interim of a year when he was the first State Librarian; as Secretary of State during the Civil War; as first librarian of the Watkinson Library, 1863-1891; as President of the Connecticut Historical Society, 1863-1889; as Secretary of Foreign Correspondence of the American Antiquarian Society from 1874 till his death; and as compiler and editor of the Colonial Records of Connecticut, 1636 to 1689—in all these offices Dr. Trumbull was a part of the inner life of his State for half a century, and the interpreter of her history and bibliography from the earliest days. No one could have had better opportunities to know the lit-

erature of Connecticut in the eighteenth century. No one could have made better use of his opportunities. The only regrettable thing about this bibliography is that his material, collected on slips through a term of over forty years and most of them dating from 1878 or earlier, had not received, at the time of his death in 1897, its final revision and harmonizing at his hands. The result is naturally a raggedness which a careful editing would have eliminated. Some of the titles are abbreviated, and the imprints often lack the name of the printer. In many cases the printer was, from the fact of his being the only one in his town and period, so familiar to Dr. Trumbull that his name seemed superfluous; but it would doubtless have been added in preparing the bibliography for the press. The Acorn Club (for whom Miss Annie Eliot Trumbull has gotten together her father's slips and added to them further material from his manuscript notes), have felt that their publication of this bibliography was as much a monument to Dr. Trumbull's bibliographical achievements as

to the literature of early Connecticut. They have chosen to publish the list essentially as he left it, only harmonizing the punctuation and adding an occasional word or correcting a queried name where it was obvious that this had been the intention of the compiler.

The earliest publications in Connecticut were issued in 1709, the first being a broadside Fast Proclamation printed in June of that year. A facsimile of this has been published by the Acorn Club, and it, with a hundred other broadside Fast and Thanksgiving proclamations, has been listed in W. DeLoss Love, Jr.'s book on *The Fast and Thanksgiving Days of New England*.

In 1709 were issued also the first session laws of Connecticut—a list of which formed the Acorn Club's third publication. But Dr. Trumbull's bibliography is what its title defines it to be—a "List of Books"—and the first publication entitled to that name seems to have been an Election Sermon delivered by the Rev. Eliphalet Adams, May 11, 1710, on *The Necessity of Judgment and Righteousness in a Land*. This was printed at New London by Thomas Short in 1710, and so far as is known was the pioneer. Thomas Short printed also *A Confession of Faith* of the Connecticut churches, which bears the date 1710 on the title-page; but Dr. Trumbull says this book was not finished until 1711. In that year he printed also an Election Sermon by the Rev. Stephen Buckingham. 1712 brought one book to light, 1713 and 1714 two

each,—and not till 1725 did more than half a dozen books appear in a year. In 1755 a marked increase occurred, and as the Revolution drew near there were more, the year 1776 bringing forth the record number of fifty-two books. The last twenty-years of the century produced over one-half the 1741 books included in the list.

The bibliography is arranged in one alphabet, of authors' names and the titles of anonymous books. The editor, Mr. Albert C. Bates, has appended a useful chronology, indicating the publications of each year by the numbers assigned them in the bibliography; has compiled an Imprint List, with references to the publications of each town, and of each printer therein. His index to persons and places mentioned in either titles or imprints is a valuable help to the historical searcher.

A list of printers shows seventy names. The largest number of imprints (one hundred and forty-eight) is ascribed to Thomas and Samuel Green at New Haven. Barzillai and George Goodwin at Hartford are credited with one hundred and seventeen books, John Trumbull of Norwich with sixty-five. In many cases, as has been said, the printer was either unknown or unnoted, and it is very probable that some Connecticut imprints of the eighteenth century are not recorded. The Acorn Club is desirous of learning of any such books and of any errors in the list, with the idea of completing the bibliography of Connecticut at some future time.

The volume formed by Trumbull's list is a large quarto of 266 pages, well printed at the Hartford Press, on a specially made hand-made paper with the Club's water mark. The format is the same as in the earlier

volume of Statute Laws. The edition consists of 102 copies. It is the ninth publication of this admirable book-club, which now consists of twenty-one members, all residents of Connecticut.



"CHRISTIE'S"

What "Sotheby's" means to the book lover, "Christie's" stands for to the collector of nearly all other "objects of bigotry and virtue." It is the auction room of all others where art dealers and collectors strive for the possession of all sorts of treasures. E. S. Valentine, in the *Strand* for July, gives a character-sketch of this London institution. Christie's was founded by the first James Christie in 1766, two years before the opening of the Royal Academy. It soon became popular with the fashionables of the day, and the private views were great events. Ostensibly free to the public, a knowing attendant saw to it that the vulgar herd did not gain admittance, and the quality held full sway. The caricaturists found it excellent hunting-ground. Gillray's "A Peep at Christie's," 1796, and Rowlandson's "A Sale at Christie's" are reproduced, also Gelbaud's painting of the sale of Reynolds's picture, "The Snake in the Grass" at the Carysfort sale in 1828, when the painting that Sir Joshua had been paid one hundred guineas for was sold for one thousand two hundred guineas.

In the early days, nearly anything was brought to Christie's to be sold. Pigs, poultry, horses and hay, a weaver's stock, and one time a lot of Egyptian relics. "A female mummy was knocked down for nine pounds eleven shillings and sixpence, an embalmed cat one

pound, an embalmed hawk five shillings, and an arm of a mummy one guinea." But gradually the miscellaneous sales were avoided, and pictures, plate, furniture and other art objects now form the business of the place. Christie, Manson, and Woods is still the firm name, though there is no longer any one of either name in the business. The sales are still made over a rostrum built for Christie by Chippendale, the hammer that falls to close the sale is the historic ivory one which is engraved with the date of its birth, 1795. From the modest prices of the eighteenth century the bids have gone up and up, till now the business of the year averages over three hundred thousand pounds. The record year was as far back as 1882, when the famous Hamilton sale carried the year's total beyond the six hundred thousand pound mark.

FORGED BOOK-PLATES.

American collectors of book-plates may find the following letter in the July *Ex-Libris Journal* as useful to them as to the English collectors whom it was intended to warn. We reprint in full the portion of Pertinax's letter which relates to forged book-plates:

To the Editor of the "EX LIBRIS JOURNAL."

SIR,—The pathway of the collector is hard and beset with difficulties in this country. First of all, an enterprising scoundrel has put into

circulation a number of copies of old book-plates, all newly engraved or reproduced in some ingenious manner so as to be very difficult of detection, and has also gone the length of inventing new old plates for the collectors, purporting to be originals, bearing old and well-known names of owners and engravers. At least one collector in Great Britain has had these forgeries offered him for sale, but for the benefit of the many it might be well worth while to warn your readers against the following old armorials;—

Spaight, signed Abernethie sc.
John Walters Gibbs, similarly signed.
Samuel Peachey, Virginia, signed C. Lownes sc.
Samuel Hay, signed Maverick sc.
Oliver Wolcott, unsigned.
Peter Hay, M.D., unsigned.
Ralph Wormeley, of Rosegill, unsigned.
David Steuart, Green Briar County, unsigned.
Guilford Library, pictorial.
A. Hamilton, an engraved bordered label, unsigned.

The success which has attended the scoundrel in disposing of these may warrant him in further efforts, unless his career shall meet with the blight of punishment, which he has thus far successfully evaded. Seven of the names in the above list represent forgeries of genuine old plates, but the Peachey is supposed to represent the highest effort in the art of the fakir, inasmuch as it joins a fictitious man to an obscure engraver who lived and worked in Philadelphia. The David Steuart is supposed to be a sophisticated replica of an old Chippendale example, that in its original state is well known to British collectors. The A. Hamilton has a suspicious-looking paper, but was lent a charm in the statement that it came from the books of one of America's most celebrated statesmen and soldiers. Generally speaking these "phony" (*Anglice*, "bogus") plates would appear to have been printed on old fly-leaves.

PERTINAX.

NEW YORK, June 6th, 1904.

MASTER JOSEPH ROUTH AND THE DURHAM LIBRARY.

At the Quarterly Meeting of the Northern Counties Library Association, held at the University of Durham in June, an account of the University Library was given by its librarian, Mr. E. V. Stocks. This is reported in the *Library Association Record* for July. The University itself is only seventy-one years old, but its library is housed in the very old Exchequer Buildings, erected in 1457—the year of a first printed book bearing a date. The library has mostly grown through gifts,

and Mr. Stocks gives an interesting sketch of one of the chief donors. "But it was in the year 1855 that we received our greatest treasures, when at his death Master Joseph Routh, president of Magdalene College, Oxford, bequeathed the whole of his printed books to the University. So attractive is his personality that I make no apology for adding a brief sketch of one who formed so remarkable a link with the past. He was born in 1755, became Commoner at Queen's College, Oxford, Fellow and Librarian, and finally President of Magdalene, over which College he ruled for sixty-three years. He was a great authority on Patristic literature, an inveterate book-collector, and his publications, though few, cover a period of no less than seventy years. His best-known work was the *Reliquiae Sacrae*. * * * He was a friend of Samuel Johnson, Mr. Parr and Porson. In his ninetieth year he could walk six miles, climb the library stairs, and read till after midnight. He preserved the dress, language and manners of the eighteenth century, * * * From his lips came the sapient advice. 'Always verify your references, sir!' Shortly before his death his old College, Queen's, offered him £10,000 for his library. He made the condition that he should be allowed the use of his books during his lifetime—a condition which they were technically prevented from accepting. By a deed of gift, discovered after his death, 'thrown by accident apparently into a portfolio of waste paper,' this collection passed to the newly founded University of the North. This generous gift he made, 'being (to use his own words) desirous that it might serve the purpose of promoting the glory of God through the advancement of good learning, and feeling a deep interest in the recently established University of Durham. * * * The Routh Collection includes fifty-two Incunabula . . . The books [16,000] are classified into Biblical, Theological, Liturgical, Classical, Church History, Bibliography, Topography, Travels, Law and Miscellaneous."

The motto of the library, which appears above an entrance, is: "Non minima pars eruditionis est bonos nosse libros."

THE AYER COLLECTION OF PHILIPPINA

James Alexander Robertson, one of the editors of *The Philippine Islands: 1493-1898*, writes in the *New York Evening Post* for July 16th, of the bibliographical resources of Spain and the United States on the subject of the Philippines. As Mr. Robertson's recent researches have brought him into touch with this material he is exceptionally fitted to write on the subject, and we quote the larger part of his letter:

"The following facts in regard to Philippina in our own country are interesting and grati-

fyng. First, however, in regard to the magnificent collection laboriously and enthusiastically amassed by W. E. Retana of Madrid: that collection is no longer intact, having been sold several years since, far below its present value, to the *Compañía de Tabacos de Filipinas* of Barcelona, whose director, Señor Don Clemente Miralles de Imperial, is also an enthusiastic collector of Philippina, and whose collection, so far as printed books are concerned, is the largest in existence, although it is poor in original manuscripts. By the acquisition of the Retana collection the above library numbered many duplicates, most of which have been sold.

There are two other notable collections in Spain, namely, that of Rev. Eduardo Navarro O. S. A., of Valladolid, which includes a number of rare books and several precious manuscripts, among the latter being San Agustín's 'Conquistas,' Zuñiga's 'Estabismo' (a more complete copy than the one used by Retana in his edition), and Ortiz's 'Practica,' which has never been published in full; and the collection of the Rev. Pablo Pastells, S. J., of Barcelona, which contains but few rare books, but a number of fine original manuscripts, among them an unpublished history by Chirino, and thousands of copies of valuable manuscripts from Madrid, Seville, and other points. A fine collection is said also to exist in St. Petersburg, Russia.

But, coming to the Philippina of our own country, besides the excellent collection in the Library of Congress, which is steadily growing, and those at Lenox, Harvard, and Boston Public libraries, it is gratifying to know that we have one private collection, that of Mr. Edward E. Ayer, of Chicago, the well-known collector of Americana, which bids fair to rival the largest of those mentioned above, both in the number and the rarity of its titles. The writer has recently had an opportunity to examine thoroughly this collection, which includes both books and manuscripts.

"In his acquisition of printed books, Mr. Ayer has been singularly fortunate, and his shelves show such rare titles as the following: Gonzales de Mendoza's 'Historia . . . del gran reyno de la China' (several early editions in Spanish and Latin, among them a 1586 edition); Vaez's 'Litteræ Annuæ Insularum Philippinarum' (in Hay's 'De rebus Japonicis,' Antwerp, 1605); Chirino's 'Relacion de las islas Filipinas' (Rome, 1604); Morga's 'Sucesos de las islas Philipinas' (Mexico, 1609), also, the only copy ever bound of the Zaragoza reprint (Madrid, 1887), the rest of the edition unfortunately having been sold as waste paper because of the above editor's death before completing his preface and annotations; Leonardo de Argensola's 'Conquista de las islas Malucas' (Madrid, 1609); three of the series of four

volumes of the Dominican Chronicles, 'Historia de la provincia del Sancto Rosario,' namely, the volumes by Diego Aduarte (Manila, 1640; and the second edition, Saragossa, 1693), Baltasar de Santa Cruz (Saragossa, 1693), Vicente Salazar (Manila, 1742)—the fourth volume, by Domingo Collantes (Manila, 1783), is exceedingly rare; Colin's 'Labor evangélica' (Madrid, 1663); two of the series of four volumes of the Recollect or discaled Augustinian chronicles, 'Historia de los religiosos descalzos,' namely, the volumes by Andres de San Nicolas, (Madrid, 1664,) and Luis de Jesus (Madrid, 1681); Garcia's 'Vida y martyrio de Diego Luis de Sanvitores' (Madrid, 1683); San Agustín's 'Conquista de las islas Philipinas' (Madrid, 1698); 'Extracto Historial' (Madrid, 1736; one of a hundred copies printed); San Antonio's 'Chronicas de la . . . provincia de San Gregorio' Sampaoc, 1738-44; Mozo's 'Noticia historica' (Madrid, 1763); Concepcion's 'Historia general' (1778-92); Malo de Luque's (pseud. of the Duke of Almodovar) 'Historia politica' (Madrid, 1784-95); Martinez de Zuñiga's 'Historia de las islas Philipinas' (Sampaloc, 1803); besides many printed ordinances, decrees *informes*, pamphlet relations, etc. One of the chief features of the collection is the linguistic department, which contains about 350 distinct titles of the various languages and dialects of the different peoples and tribes of the archipelago.

"The manuscript division is one in which the owner can justly take pride, for Philippina manuscripts are offered for sale much less frequently than printed books. The greater part of the manuscript material relating to the Philippines is conserved in the archives of Spain, mainly in Seville; the various religious orders still own a number; as also do Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera and Señor Zulueta of Manila, the latter of whom was recently commissioned by the Philippine Government to collect copies of valuable manuscripts in Spain and other countries. The Ayer collection of manuscripts contains various originals and some valuable copies. The originals consist of reports, *informes*, letters, etc., some of them written on the perishable rice paper. Among the most important may be mentioned the following: 'Relacion del viaje e jornada que larmada de su mag. hizo del descubrimiento de las islas del ponfente' (1565), one of the original duplicates sent to Spain and printed in 'Documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento' (Madrid, 1886), second series, ii. pp. 217-351; 'Cedulas reales dirigidas a estas yslas Filipinas' (containing decrees and instructions from the time of Legazpi to 1603); a series of letters officially copied from the Seville archives for Señor Zaragoza, which give important details of the life of Dr. Morga; documents regarding the English invasion of Manila in 1762; 'Demonstracion

del misero deplorable estado de las Islas Philipinas . . . por Don Francisco de Viana' (Manila, 1765), originally of the Retana collection, and a very important social and economic document; and 'Documentos, datos y relaciones para la historia de Filipinas' (copied from originals in Spanish archives by Ventura del Arco, a Spanish Government official, in 1859, in five volumes, octavo).

"Thus, as is seen, this collection forms a good working library of original sources, which offers many rich nuggets to the student; and students in general may well take pride that America has citizens of sufficient public spirit to amass such collections.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON."

THE HAND PRESS AND ITS USES.

The hand-press of our predecessors can never be quite obliterated from the field where it is so long ruled alone. True, it has taken a very minor place, but for some kinds of work it can never be superceded. "The hand-press exists among us, at all events," says James J. Guthrie in *Books and Book-plates*, "and from no mere whim or charity, held out but liable to be withdrawn at any moment. It is a tool, not a machine, and from this fact spring its charm and its limitations; and a frank acceptance of which natural limits will be found to adjust the disabilities under which many craftsmen pretend to labour. The native stamp of hand-work, of variety, should be unashamedly evident upon all that is produced by this means . . . So far indeed has printing strayed nowadays from all relationship with the hand of man, that one is amazed, coming to it newly, at the pains taken to conceal all traces of workmanship. * * * We cannot, if we would, entirely ignore the past, indeed it is our duty to profit by all that seems admirable. One may be Philistine enough to find much good in what is generally accepted as a debased period in the history of printing. It may be that the fifteenth century standard has been insisted upon so much and become a parrot-cry of critics dependent upon others for their opinions; but one observes by and by more clearly one's illicit fondness for something else, having nursed it in silence until the fear of laughter has departed. Have not many of the eighteenth century books and broadsides and newspapers a picturesque beauty which shines through the faulty press-work? Perhaps, as a typesetter once told the writer, it is the faults that artists admire—the fading ink and the merging tone of the paper—they cannot be taught to understand clearness and sharp-cut outlines! He may have been right, but we would have found it no easy task to prove that the common run of printing to-day benefits from the substitution of an engineer standard

in place of an artistic one in the matters affecting alphabetical form. At least one fault seems to have been designed with 'faults' ready-made for the purpose of meeting the supposed requirements of 'art' printing! But, all this apart, it seems to be the truth that the early eighteenth century work had not as yet been perfected into a rigid mechanical process: it smacks of the ink and bears the natural emboss given in the press. * * * It is essential that the hand-press printer should aim for permanence, so choosing his matter that it may fittingly stand and remain. * * * It is probable that when the world and the printer have ceased to think the limited edition merely a device for over-charging, the demand for permanent books will become more general."

THE ART OF LETTER-WRITING.

A pleasant essay on the art of letter-writing is woven about Herbert W. Hornwill's reviews of several new books of correspondence, in the July-September *Forum*. Mr. Hornwill refers to his subject as belonging to "to the domain of archaeology," since the cheapness and frequency of mails has caused the act of writing to "lose something of its dignity and importance by becoming a daily incident instead of a function carefully discharged at rare intervals." The tendency is toward scrappiness as well as brevity. Fanny Burney, with her letters of from six to twelve large quarto pages, would to-day be an eccentric and a bore." We still write, however, in a scrawly and haphazard way, and by as much as current letters are disappointing so much the more do we purchase and peruse the letters of men like Walpole, Carlyle, and Lord Acton, and women like Mrs. George Bancroft—all of whom have this year been brought freshly before us by the publication of portions of their correspondence.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE AMERICAN INVASION.

An unsigned article in the *Burlington Magazine* for July attempts to explain the general depression in the art world—or the business side of it. The writer sketches the rise of the American mania for collection. "The trouble began when America invaded the European art market to buy pictures of the Barbizon school. Before that time the American collector was only a spasmodic buyer who had no knowledge of art, and would, if properly handled, buy forgeries and third-rate pictures that any educated European would laugh at. It was long before Americans became aware of this, and when they did become aware of it they made a grave mistake. Instead of themselves acquiring some knowledge of art, or paying another

to acquire it for them, they merely became cautious, and bought nothing which was not already accepted by collectors in Europe."

As the American collecting mania was backed by the American financial boom, art dealers found it profitable to cater to the tastes of the invader and neglected the more moderate wants of the average native collector. English collectors, too, found it more profitable to sell than to buy, and the American in the height of his power found it possible to gather in all the first-rate, then all the second-rate objects of art that he wanted, to say nothing of innumerable "fakes." South Africa also experienced a boom about this time, and thoughtful collectors, being more English, were more prudent buyers, they completed the exodus of art treasures from England.

"Now all is changed. Instead of enjoying prosperity both America and South Africa are in difficulties. Immense fortunes are no longer being made, and those who have money are fully employed in endeavoring to keep it. The dealer is thus placed in an awkward position. He must look to Europe once more for his customers, and in a measure he looks in vain, because prices have been forced so high that the majority of European collectors cannot and will not pay them. On the other hand, those who have art property to dispose of have quite an artificial idea of its value, and the dealers dare not buy it, as their only market for it is no longer available.

"This state of things is absurd, and the sooner its absurdity is recognized the better. A more healthy tone, coupled with smaller and more numerous sales, will in the end benefit the dealer, who cannot expect to live forever on the crest of a wave of exceptional prosperity."

COLLECTANEA.

AMERICANA. The Louisiana Purchase in Correspondence of the Time. Extracts from letters of Washington, Hamilton, Jefferson, etc. Arranged by Rev. Dr. William Salter. *Annals of Iowa*, July.

Revolutionary Soldiers of Berkeley Co., W. Va.: Extracts from Virginia Gazette, 1752. *William and Mary College Quarterly*, July.

AUTHORS. A visit to Vicar Hugo. By Hélène Vacaresco. *Contemporary Review*, July. Maurus Jokai and the historical novel. By H. W. V. Temperley. *Contemp. Review*, July.

BELLS. A Parisian Collection of Bells. By Frederic Lees. *Illus. Connoisseur*, July.

BOOK-PLATES. Lo stemma di Beniamino Franklyn. By Camillo Brunetti. *Rivista del Collegio Araldico*, June.

Book-plates of the University of California. *Illus. Ex Libris Journal*, July.

Chronique de l'Ex-Libris—Juin. By Baron Jehan. *Illus. In Revue Biblio-Iconographique*, June.

COSTUME. English Costume. By Dion C. Calthrop & Gilbert Pownall. *Illus. from illuminated MS. Connoisseur*, July.

FURNITURE. A Yorkshire collection of English Furniture. By R. S. Clouston. *Illus. Burlington*, July.

GENEALOGY. Family records of the McAdam and Brown families of Va. Meade family history, by David Meade. Throckmorton and Phillips families. Chisman Bible records. *William and Mary College Quarterly*, July.

HAWTHORNE. Nathaniel Hawthorne. By Walter Lewin. Many *illus. port. In London Bookman*, July.

Hawthorne and Emerson; By Elizabeth Luther Cary. Gloom and Cheer in Hawthorne; by Annie Russell Marble. Hawthorne, Emperor of Shadows; by Benjamin de Casseres. Illustrated editions of "The Scarlet Letter;" by Carolyn Shipman. Hawthorne as seen by his Publisher; by Howard M. Ticknor. Hawthorne's use of his materials; by C. T. Copeland. Hawthorne from an English point of view; by Francis Gribble. Hawthorne's last years; by Julian Hawthorne. *Ports, illus. Critic*, July.

JAPANESE LITERATURE. Koyo Ozaki (author of forty-three stories of Tokyo). By Yone Noguchi. *Reader*, July.

PAINTINGS AND PAINTERS. The Masterpieces of Velasquez in the Imperial Gallery at Vienna. By Charles Ricketts. *Illus. Burlington*, July. Pictures in the Royal Collections. II. By Lionel Cust & Langton Douglas. *Illus. Burlington*, July.

The Exhibition of French Primitives. II. By Roger E. Fry. *Illus. Burlington*, July. George Mosland. I. The Man and the Painter. By Martin Hardie. With Bibliography of books relating to G. Morland. *Illus. Connoisseur*, July.

Peter F. Rothermel, painter of "The Battle of Gettysburg." By P. C. Croll. *Port. Pennsylvania-German*, July.

The Art of Thomas Collier. By Frederick Wedmore. *Illus. Studio*, July.

PETRARCH. Petrarch: also Modern Echoes of Petrarch, by Annie Russell Marble. *The Dial*, July 16.

The Illustrators of Petrarch. By George Santayana. Francis Petrarch, 1304-1904. By H. D. Sedgwick. *Atlantic*, July.

PEWTER. Some notes on the Forms of Pewter Ware. By H. J. L. J. Massé. *Illus. Connoisseur*, July.

PRIVATE COLLECTIONS. Catalogue de la Bibliothèque du Baron de Longepierre. By Roger Portalis. In *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, June, July, August.

Les De Thou, et leur célèbre Bibliothèque, 1573-1680—1789. By Henry Harriase. In *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, May-July, etc.



A volume of *Copyright Laws and Decisions*, compiled by Arthur S. Hamlin, has been published by G. P. Putnam's Sons for the American Publishers' Copyright League. It comprises a summary of the leading American decisions on the law of copyright, and on literary property, from 1891 to 1903, together with a selection of recent copyright decisions of the courts of Great Britain and Canada, and the text of the United States Copyright Statutes in force on January 1, 1904.

Above the grave of Izaak Walton, in Prior Silkstede's Chapel, Winchester Cathedral, is a large window of fine design, in which stained glass is now to be placed as a memorial to the great fisherman. The four hundred pounds needed are being raised by popular subscription. The window will be designed by Mr. C. E. Kempe.

The Massachusetts Historical Society has found a little anonymous pamphlet, oblong quarto in shape, printed in oil colors, with the title *Echoes from the Wagon Wheels, Heard at a Regimental Reunion*. It consists of stories told "at a summer resort in Boston Harbor," in 1880. There is no clue to the printer, but the paper has a 1900 water-mark. The Bibliographer of *The Boston Transcript* is curious to learn any bibliographical facts about this little booklet, of which sixty copies are supposed to have been printed.

Dr. Samuel A. Green, the Boston historian, has a copy of the 1768 edition of the *New England Primer* with an interesting variation in imprint. The title-page reads: The | New-England | Primer | Improved. | For the more easy attaining the | True reading of English. | To which is added, | The Assembly of Di- | vines and Mr. Cot- | ton's Catechism. | Boston: Printed by Kneeland | and Adams, in Milk-Street, for | T. Leverett, in Corn-hill. | 1768. | The imprint of Kneeland and Adams for Leverett has not before been recorded.

Editor *The Literary Collector* :

MY DEAR SIR—The compilation of auction book prices of American Book Club publications, which the Rowfant Club has recently issued over my name, does not adequately represent the work as it was originally planned by me. I, therefore, regret that the Rowfant Club has connected my name with the book in any way, as the manuscript, delivered to the Club in the late Summer of 1902, was re-written and mutilated by other hands without my permission or sanction, and was finally published in the early part of the present year (1904) without my having seen the proofs, and, indeed, without my knowledge that its publication was under way.

Sincerely yours,
ROBERT F. RODEN.

Three more volumes of the American Men of Letters Series are soon to be issued—a *Life of Whitman* by Bliss Perry, of *Holmes* by Samuel M. Crothers, and of *Lowell* by Ferris Greenslet.

One of the oldest newspapers in the country has been forced by financial difficulties to suspend publication. This is the *Worcester Spy*, which has been in existence since 1770. Its first issues were published in Boston, but its revolutionary tendencies got it into trouble at once, and its publisher left the city and established himself at Worcester. Since that time until the first of June, 1904, it has appeared continuously, first as a weekly, then as a daily newspaper.

The Collector's Magazine has just appeared in London, as a successor to the *Printseller and Collector*. The new magazine is to appear monthly.

Another new periodical is *The Celtic Review*, a magazine devoted to Celtic literature and particularly to the revival of the Gaelic language. Norman Macleod, of Edinburgh, is the publisher, Professor Mackinnon and Miss E. C. Carmichael the editors.

CURRENT BOOK PRICES

- Alken, Henry. National Sports. 1821. So, J1 28. £46
- Barclay's Ship of Fools. London, 1570. So, J1 28. £20.10
- Blackmore, R. D. Lorna Doone. First edition, 3 vols. 1869. So, J1 28. £10.15
- Brathwait. A Strappado for the Divell. Original binding. London, 1615. So, J1 28. £30.10
- Brough. Life of Sir John Falstaff. Mor. Lond., 1858. So, M 21. £12.15
- Browning, Robert. Twenty-three autograph letters to Alfred Domett, 1840-77. So, J1 28. £150
- Burns, Robert. Poems. Kilmarnock edition, uncut. Red morocco by Ramage. 1786. So, J1 28. £220
- The Brigs of Ayr. Holograph MS., 7¼ p. folio. £169
- Butler, Samuel. Hudibras. Genuine first issues. 3 vols. London, 1663, '64, '78. So, J1 28. £40
- Carey. Life in Paris. Original wrappers. Lond., 1822. So, M 21. £58.10
- Chapman, George. Seaven Bookes of the Iliades of Homere. Bound with his Achilles's Shield. First editions, old vellum. 1598. So, J1 28. £291
- Combe, Dr. Syntax. 3 vols, mor. Lond., 1812, '20, '21. So, M 21. £34
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- The Omnibus. Orig. cloth. Lond., 1842. So, M 21. £25
- Defoe, Daniel. Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders. First edition, original calf. London, 1721. So, J1 28. £130
- Dickens, Charles. The Strange Gentleman. First ed, orig. wrappers. Lond., 1837. So, M 21. £141
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- Kean, Edmund. Collection of 150 play-bills of his appearances, 1814-33. So, J1 28. £35.10
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- Lamb, Charles. Essays of Elia. First edition, uncut. 1823. So, J1 28. £19
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- Pope, Alexander. Essay on Man. Lond., 1732-4. So, Je 21. £20
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- Pyenson Imprint. Barclay's translation of Sallust. R. Pynson, circa 1519. So, Je 22. £45
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H—Henkels; L—Libbie; So—Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge; My—May; Je—June; J1—July.

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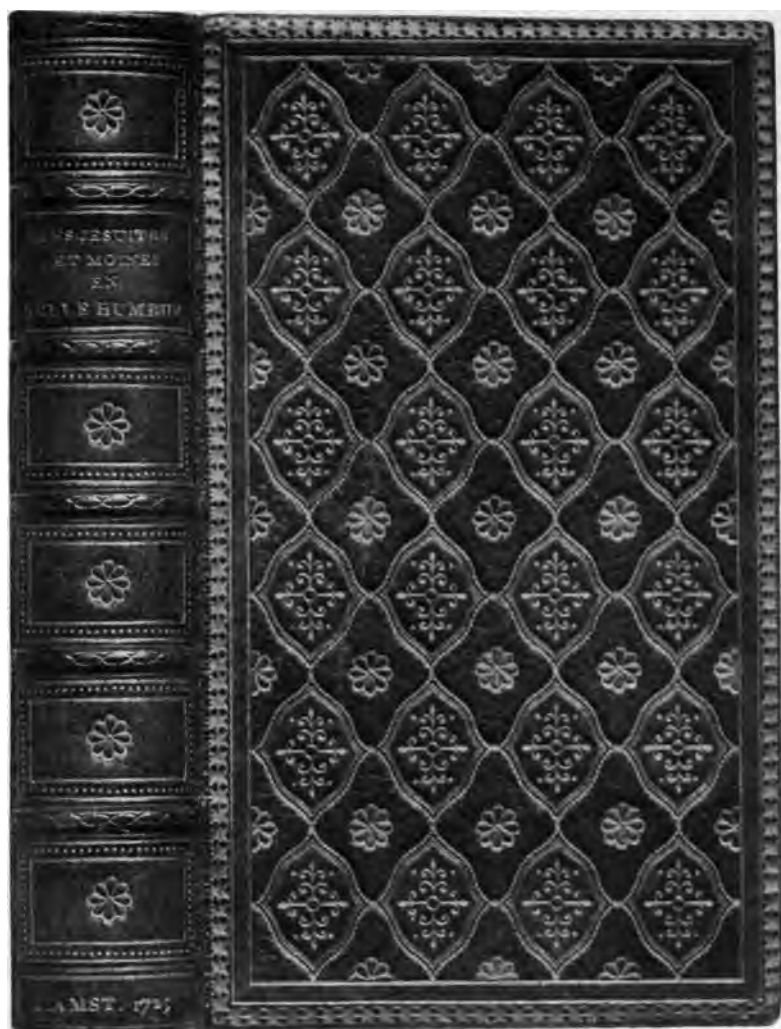
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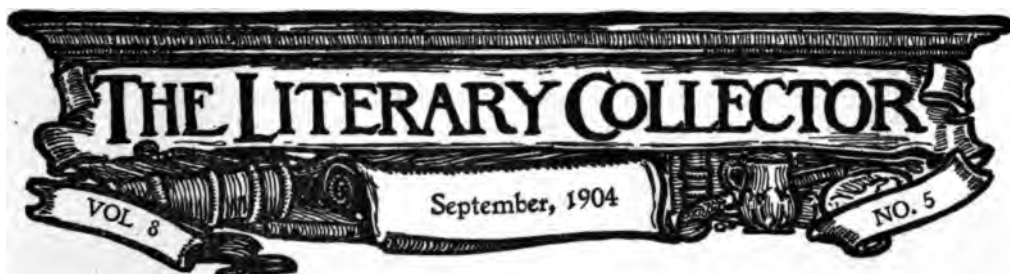
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JOHN BELLAMY, PUBLISHER, 1620-1654

BY H. R. PLOMER

THE controversial literature of the Commonwealth period is a veritable purgatory to the historical student. The interminable length of many of these pamphlets and the wretched manner in which they were printed, are of themselves sufficient to make one hesitate before attempting to read them. But in spite of their uninviting appearance, they contain much curious and useful information about men and matters that cannot be obtained anywhere else. The following notes about John Bellamy, the publisher of Cornhill, are mainly derived from this source.

To the American nation the work of John Bellamy must always be of special interest, as it was he who issued the first printed record of the Pilgrim Fathers of New England, and during the whole of his life he continued to be one of the principal publishers of Americana.

A native of Oundle, in Northamptonshire, he was on leaving school apprenticed to an eminent London bookseller, Nicholas Bourne, whose place of business was at the south entrance to the Royal Exchange.

Nicholas Bourne was a man who by strict integrity and diligence had succeeded to the business of his former master, Cuthbert Burby, who at his death not only left Bourne the option of buying his stock on the most favourable terms, but left him unconditionally the lease of his shop.

John Bellamy was an equally conscientious man. Bred as a Presbyterian, it was said of him that during his apprenticeship he would not personally sell prayer-books to the customers. This story turned out afterwards not to be strictly true, but his opponents were unanimous in the statement that he was a man of great piety. There is no entry in the Sta-

tioner's Register of Bellamy's apprenticeship, but he took up his freedom in February, 1620, and the first entry under his name occurs on October 10th in the same year, when with his master, N. Bourne, he received license to publish a sermon by the Rev. Samuel Smith, rector of Prittlewell in Essex [Arber 4.41]. On January 6th, 1620 or 1621, he issued a sermon by the Rev. Richard Preston, then vicar of Rushden in Bellamy's native country of Northampton, and a work on Natural Philosophy. Some three months later he brought out a volume of verse by Richard Braithwaite, called *Time's Curtaine Drawne*. These books, though all bearing Bellamy's name in the imprint, were sold at Bourne's shop at the south entrance to the Royal Exchange.

On March 22d, 1621 or 1622, he entered a New England pamphlet as "A Sermon preached at Plymouth in New England Decr 9th 1621. Together with a Preface shewing the state of the contree, and condicon of the inhabitants" [Arber 4.66].

It bore the imprint:

"London: Printed by I. D. for John Bellamie and are to be sold at his shop at the two Greyhounds in Corne-hill, neere the Royal Exchange, 1622."

showing that Bellamy had set up for himself some time during the year 1621.

This sermon is believed to have been brought to England by Robert Cushman, after his visit to the colony, and the interesting question arises how came he to take the MS. to John

Bellamy for publication in preference to any other of the numerous publishers in London at that time? I have no doubt that the answer is to be found in Bellamy's well known character for honesty and piety, as well as to the fact that he was a Presbyterian. He was probably well known to several of those who embarked in the Mayflower, and we might even suppose him, without any great stretch of the imagination, to have been in correspondence with some of them. The desire to help a young man just starting in business no doubt also weighed with those who selected Bellamy as their publisher.

The sermon was followed, during the year 1622, by three other important works on the American colonies of which Bellamy was also the publisher. On Thursday, April 18th, the Rev. Patrick Copland preached before the Honourable Virginia Company, and a month later his sermon, entitled:

"Virginia's God be thanked or a Sermon of thanksgiving for the happie successe of the affayres in Virginia this last yeare, etc."

was published by Bellamy in conjunction with William Sheffard. On July 15th, Mistress Griffin and John Haviland, both of them printers and publishers, entered in the Register:

"A Briefe Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England."

a pamphlet of forty pages, dealing with the troubles of the colony from the time of its discovery, but making no special mention of the Pilgrim

Fathers. Haviland was the printer, as the imprint bears the name of another publisher, William Bladen. There were business relations between Bladen and Bellamy, and this book was on sale in Bellamy's shop.

The third of these three issues of 1622 was the famous

"Relation, or Journal of the Beginning and Proceedings of the English Plantation settled at Plymouth in New England."

which was edited by G. Mourt and published by the colonists. This was double the size of the other pamphlet, and gave the story of the settlement much more fully. This was not entered in the Stationer's Register at all, unless it is referred to in the entry of June 29th, when Bellamy entered a work as *Newes from New England*, but it bears Bellamy's name in the imprint.

His next publication relating to America was Winslow's

"Good Newes from New England: or a true relation of things very remarkable at the plantation of Plimoth in New England. . . . Written by E. W.

London: Printed by I. D. for William Bladen and John Bellamie, and are to be sold at their Shops, at the Bible in Paul's Church Yard, and at the three Golden Lyons in Cornehill, neere the Royall Exchange. 1624." 4to.

This may of course have been the work referred to in the entry of June 29th, but if so, he entered it on November 14th, 1623, where it appears under the sub-title, "A True Relation

of Things very Remarkable" [Arber, 4.108]. The imprint to *Good Newes from New England* proves that since the publication of the "Relation or Journal" Bellamy had removed to other premises, or altered his sign to the "Three Golden Lyons." The first is the most probable explanation, as there is no known instance of a tradesman changing the sign of his house during occupation. Exactly when he made the move cannot be determined. He was at the "Two Greyhounds" when he published John Weemes' Christian Synagogue, which bears the date 1623, and was probably published at the end of 1622. All that can be said is that some time between January and November, 1623, he moved into what were probably larger premises at the "Three Golden Lyons," the situation of which is just as obscure as that of the "Two Greyhounds."

A matter of six years elapses before we find Bellamy publishing anything more concerning the colonies; but in the interval he gave the English public an edition of John Robinson's *Observations, Divine and Moral*. No copy of this first English edition can now be traced, neither is it recorded by any bibliographer. Bellamy entered the work in the Stationer's Register on October 18th, 1626, and no doubt according to his usual plan, the title-page bore the date 1627. It is of course quite possible that he may have imported copies of the Leyden edition and added a title-page of his own. Further evidence of his having issued such an edition is shown

by the fact that he reissued it again twelve years later under the title of *Essayes, or Observations divine and moral*, the title-page to which distinctly stated that it was the second edition,—that is the second English edition.

In 1630 Bellamy published a sermon of the Rev. John Cotton, the well-known New England preacher, entitled, *God's Promise to his Plantation*, and in the course of the same year a pamphlet said to have been drawn up by the Governor of the Colony, J. Winthrop, and entitled:

"The humble request of his majesties loyall subjects the Governor and the Company late gone to New England, to the rest of their brethren in and of the Church of England, for the obtaining of their prayers, and the removall of suspitions, and misconstructions of their intentions."

But the most important book relating to New England that had appeared since the publications of 1622 was William Wood's *New England's Prospect*, which was published by Bellamy in 1634. The author was a new colonist, at least had only been there four years, but he wrote a full and most valuable description of the position, natural qualities, climate, etc., of New England and wound up with twenty chapters describing the manners and customs of the various tribes of Indians inhabiting the country. This book was at once recognized as a useful work. A second edition was called for in the following

year (1635) and a third in 1639.

In the year 1638 we find Bellamy associated with Nathaniel Butler, the publisher of news sheets, in issuing a work by P. Vincent, called

"A true relation of the late Battell fought in New England between the English and the Pequet Salvages, etc."

During the whole of the period we have been considering, John Bellamy had been strengthening his position as a citizen and stationer of London, and although he never reached either the master's or the warden's chair, he represented the ward of Cornhill on the Common Council of the city. On the outbreak of the Civil War he took up arms for Parliament and served in the trained bands, where he reached the grade of colonel. When the split took place between the Presbyterians and Independents, he remained loyal to the Presbyterian party. In 1645 he delivered a speech before the Common Council, in which he held that the Lord Mayor had no right to dissolve the Council without its consent. This speech he afterwards published. Bellamy also strongly defended the "Remonstrance and Petition" sent by the Presbyterian section of the Common Council to both Houses of Parliament for redress of grievances. This document consisted of seventeen heads, the most important of which were the suppression of private and separate congregations, proceedings against Anabaptists and Brownists, propositions to his Majesty for a speedy peace, and the dissolution of the committee sitting at Haberdash-

er's Hall for the discovery of malignants.

This remonstrance was printed and published by Bellamy, and was at once vigorously attacked by the pamphleteers of the Independent party. John Bellamy at once wrote and published *A Vindication of the Humble Remonstrance*.

He handled his subject with moderation and his pages were free from personalities. A certain John Price replied to his pamphlet with another entitled *The City Remonstrance Remonstrated, etc.*, and it is from this that we gain the biographical details concerning John Bellamy, already noticed. Bellamy answered his opponent with *A Justification of the City Remonstrance and its Vindication*, in which he published a letter from his former master, Nicholas Bourne, denying the statement that Bellamy ever refused to sell prayer-books. What had apparently misled his opponents was the fact that Nicholas Bourne would not allow his apprentices to sell *play-books*.

But while he threw himself into the questions of the day, Bellamy did not neglect his business, though there is no doubt that he estranged himself from many of his old customers. At any rate we find New England books published by other men in larger numbers, while those published by Bellamy became fewer, and those chiefly of a strictly controversial character. Such was Governor Winslow's "*Hypocrisie Unmasked*. By a true Relation of the Proceedings of the Governor and Company of the Masachu-

sets against Samuel Gorton, etc., etc. London, Printed by Richard Cotes for John Bellamy at the Three Golden Lions in Cornhill, neare the Royal Exchange, 1646."

Gorton appears to have been an Independent and a very unruly one. The chief interest in this pamphlet lies in the Governor's history of the origin and development of the Colony, which he added to it. Bellamy issued the unsold copies of this pamphlet in 1649 with a new title-page, which ran, *The Danger of Tolerating Levelers in a Civil State, etc., etc.*

Amongst Bellamy's later works we find *A Survey of the Summe of Church Discipline*, written by Thomas Hooker, late Pastor of the church at Hartford upon Connecticut, issued in 1648, *The Way of Congregational Churches cleared*, by the Rev. John Cotton, and *The Clear Sunshine of the Gospel*, by Thomas Sheppard, all published in the same year.

John Bellamy died in January, 1653 or 1654, and was buried at Cotherstock, or Cotterstock, in Northamptonshire, on the 25th of that month, his funeral sermon being preached by the Rev. Richard Raebury, minister at Oundle. The sermon was afterwards printed, and the title-page promised details of the life of the deceased, but with the exception of a very brief review of his character, it gives no biographical details. Bellamy made his will on January 14th, shortly before his death. It is entered in the registers of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury and supplies us with some additional information. He appears to

have given up business some time before his death, as beyond his interest in the English stock of the Company of Stationers, he makes no mention of it. He died childless, apparently unmarried, and the bulk of his estate, which comprised a great deal of freehold and leasehold lands in the counties of Northampton, Huntingdon and Cambridge, he left to his brothers and sisters and their children. He also owned two shops in London in St. Paul's Churchyard, one known by the name of the White Lyon and in the occupation of a stationer named

Philemon Stephens, and the other called the Hand in Hand, in the occupation of a hosier. One clause of his will is particularly interesting. It runs thus:

"Item, I give all my Bookes, one of a sorte, to be as a standing library for the use of the ministry of this parish of Cotherstock, viz, to Mr. William Malkinson the present incumbent, and after his decease to his successor."

Doubtless these books have long since perished or been scattered to the winds.

SOME BOOKS ON MAGIC

BY J. H. SLATER

MOST of the books, old or new, which treat of Magic commence with some definition of the word, this being not merely a convenient course, but one that is absolutely necessary, in view of the many and diverse aspects from which this ancient and complex art is capable of being regarded. Magic, indeed, in its general sense embraces a large number of totally distinct acts, such for instance, as some thirty recognised species of divination, at the head of which stand Astrology and Geomancy, Necromancy or the art of communicating with the dead, Sorcery or Black Magic, which is the art of summoning and binding evil spirits, White Magic which concerns itself only with good spirits, and many variations of one or more of these practices. No definition that has been or could be given is, or would be, sufficiently comprehensive to embrace every branch of such an extensive and complicated philosophy. The Jesuit, Delrio, for example, in the second chapter of his *Disquisitio Magicarum*, is much too sweeping when he describes Magic as the "*Ars seu facultas, vi creatâ et non supernaturali, quædam mira et insolita efficiens; quorum ratio sensum et communem hominum captum superat,*" for any kind of delusion, which was actively induced, would come within the scope

of this definition. The truth is that every branch of magical art requires a separate definition, and as this paper has reference to Geotic Magic only, I shall describe this branch of the subject as the invocation by art of demons or spirits, followed by some agreement, express or implied, between them and the operator, or without any agreement at all, as the case may be.

It may, perhaps, seem strange to hear that called a "philosophy" which, for two hundred years or more, has been looked upon in the light of a gross superstition, but we must remember that Magic in its true and literal sense is a very different thing from the degrading fanaticism of the Middle Ages and the witchcraft which, even to this day, lingers in many remote districts. In its inception Magic was the knowledge of things divine, the philosophy of the secrets of nature, and they who professed it were called *Magi*, from the Persian *Māg* signifying, in the Pahlavi language, a Priest. Is there a truth? then there must also be some certain way of discovering it, for that the human understanding should have been left to operate at random, was regarded as impossible, and the elucidation of Truth was the life study of every Magus and the sole aim and object of transcendental Magic.

"*Dicit ei Pilatus, Quid est Veritas?*" The process by which the hidden mysteries of absolute truth are approached and illumined one by one, is Magic in its true sense, and they who search for this truth, are Magi or Magicians.

It is, however, plain that this definition belongs to days long past, and that we should not recognise the magic of the Middle Ages, with its sorceries, enchantments, and orgies, as having any connection at all with that supreme and absolute science which Hermes Trismegistus hints at in the *Pimander*, probably one of the books declared by the priests to have been composed during the reign of the gods, who preceded Menes, the first of the Egyptian Kings. That this mediæval art was, however, an apostate offshoot of that true magic which at one time flourished at Thebes and Memphis, cannot be doubted, for the Books of Thoth, as they are called, were known to the Romans, and necromancers had by the time of Severus, succeeded in perverting their teachings and parodying those rites and ceremonies which were insisted upon as indispensable adjuncts to the study of the Hermetic arts.

Dr. Louis Ménard, of Paris, in his work entitled *Hermès Trismégiste . . . précédé d'une étude sur l'origine des livres Hermétiques* (Paris, 1867), points out that the four books of Thoth consisted of forty-two volumes, corresponding with the number of the Vedas, and very like them in subject and treatment. They were deposited in the inmost recesses of the Temples,

as at the Memnonium at Thebes, according to Diodorus Siculus, and none but the higher order of priests were permitted to read them. Such was their reputed antiquity that Plato says they were ascribed to Isis and believed to be ten thousand years old. They related to the emanations of the gods, the formation of the world, divine laws, rules for the priesthood, astronomy, astrology, philosophy, and the sciences, including medicine and anatomy, hymns to Osiris and the other gods, and maxims for the guidance of the King. These books subsequently left the exclusive possession of the priesthood, in the sense that copies were made of them and distributed throughout the civilised world. Diocletian destroyed—in 296 A.D.—all he could find, lest the knowledge of alchemy which they imparted should become general among the tributaries of Rome and the possession of gold without stint urge them to rebel. These renowned books of Hermes or of Thoth have been lost, perhaps buried in Egyptian sand, for fifteen hundred years. Certain fragments, however, remain, though whether genuine or not is a question that it is impossible to answer. These fragments were, however, known to Lactantius, who in speaking of them said, "Hermes, I know not how has discovered well nigh the whole truth."

The books of Thoth, at present only represented by these fragments, are then the oldest books of any kind of which we have knowledge. From what is said of them by writers of

antiquity, their origin can certainly be set back to the epoch of the preparation of the Zodiac, that is to say to some period prior to 2,500 B.C., and there can be no question that they were books of magic in its highest and purest sense, though believed by the Romans to artfully conceal, under the guise of innocent words and phrases, anything or everything that covetousness could suggest. It is not necessary to enlarge on the subject of these books of Thoth further than to say that they are still believed by some to virtually exist in the form of a pack of 78 cards, known as the Tarot. The first person to formulate this idea was Guillaume Postel in his *Absconditorum a Constitutione Mundi Clavis* (Paris, 1555?), and after him came Court de Gebelin with his *Le Monde Primitif Analyse et comparé avec le monde moderne* (1773-82), and Alliette with *Le Jeu des Tarots* (*Memphis*, Paris, 1788). Other books include Eliphas Levi's *La Clef des Grands Mystères* (Paris, 1861), *Dogme et Rituel de la Haute Magie* (Paris, 1861), and *Histoire de la Magie* (1860), Pierre Christian's *Histoire de la Magie* (Paris, 1870), and finally S. L. Mac Gregor Mathers' *The Tarot* (1888), and A. P. Morton's *The Tarot of the Bohemians*, 1892. If, after reading these treatises, the Tarot should prove as inscrutable as the Sphinx, it will be because Alliette was right in his supposition that if Hermes had sent these cards at all, it must have been for degenerate men to gamble with.

We know sufficient of the books of

Thoth to be aware that they contained no magic of the kind practised in later days by Egyptians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, and many nations, modern as well as ancient. Homer makes his sorcerers Egyptian, Xenophon describes his as Persian, but none of these were taught by Thoth. Medea was a magician who ascended to the clouds laughing at murder, hurling at Jason the heart-quaking words that Euripides has made immortal, "Not as yet sufficiently dost thou lament, live and grow old." Canidia and her attendant sorceresses, "filthy hags," as Horace calls them, practise their rites with eggs smeared with the blood of a toad and the plumage of a midnight screech owl; their herbs and suffumigations come from Iolcos, a town of Thessaly where necromancy is rife; they bury a boy up to the chin in full view of food changed twice or thrice a day, so that when he has been starved slowly to death, his marrow will be destitute of moisture and therefore more suitable for some of their abominable preparations. Horace did not invent all this. He is describing the reputed practices of sorcerers and witches of his day, just as Euripides was in that graphic picture of the unearthly fires which consumed the unfortunate rival of Medea. The Bible, too, refers to Jannes and Jambres, Pharoah's magicians, the witch of Endor, Simon Magus and other characters who, whatever the extent of their powers, are plainly and unequivocally credited with much that is to us absolutely incomprehensible. The whole of an-

cient Greece was a living magic. Homer's description of the Shield of Achilles minutely describes the secret book of antique initiation. Plato wrote most strongly against sorcery and advocated the arrest of those who practised it, an unnecessary prohibition had not sorcery been rife in his time. The Roman traditions make Numa Pompilius a magician who conjured Jove himself. According to Pliny, the Marsi were very skilful in all the arts of sorcery, and then there is all the lore of the Sibyls, ten in number, according to Varro.

From these and many other authors it can be gathered that the transcendental magic of the Priests of Isis and Amen-Ra underwent a complete transformation at the hands of those who had not the patience to wait, as Pythagoras had, for many years before they stood any chance of being initiated into the mysteries of Hermes (Porphyrius, *de Vita Pythagoræ*, Iamblichus *de mysteriis Ægyptiorum*), and when Constantine destroyed the Ægyptian Temples, theurgic arts and sophistic juggleries based on half digested principles took the place of a learning, which, however hollow it may appear to this generation, was, at any rate, invested with a respectability of thousands of years duration. The belief in the existence of invisible beings superior to and immensely more powerful than man, inculcated an irresistible desire to communicate with them, and formulæ were invented with this object, and books written to explain the procedure and practice of summoning up spirits

from the vasty deep or from the air. Four hundred and fifty years before Christ, Empedocles spoke of evil and good demons (Plutarch, *de Iside et Osiride*), Porphyry in his life of Pythagoras, said that the followers of that philosopher habitually communicated with demons and were able to exorcise them, and Apollonius of Tyana, a contemporary of Christ, is stated by his biographer Philostratus to have practised ceremonial magic, though he denies that he was a sorcerer in the vulgar sense. (D. M. Tredwell's *Sketch of the Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, New York, 1886, gives as clear an insight as any book readily procurable into the legends and traditions woven into the being of this extraordinary man, whose name is to this day invested with a certain terror in the East.)

There were spirits of all kinds and of different ranks, the good perpetually at war with the evil. Man, considered even in the aggregate, was but an infinitesimal fraction of universal life, the world but a speck of dust in a philosophy that embraced the whole creation. Yet man was strong on his own plane and had it in his power to force and bind angels, spirits and demons of every description, provided he called to his aid an authority sufficiently powerful. Thus, while an insignificant angel might put to flight a demon of the same importance, he would stand no chance against one more powerful than himself. Hence the Kabbalists divided all spirits into three classes and nine categories, and authors have treated

of their authority, attributes, and even appearance, at great length. Psellus, whose work *de Dæmonibus* is printed in Aldus's edition of Iamblichus, Trithemius, the *Pneumatica Kabbalistica* found in the *Kabbala Denudata* of Baron de Rosenroth, Isaac de Loria's *Liber de Revolutionibus Animarum*, the *Sepher Druschim* of Rabbi Moscheh of Cordova, and the *Clavicula* of Solomon, all give minute particulars respecting the position, power and jurisdiction of angels and demons.

The only book of ceremonial magic which has come down to us from remote times, if we except perhaps certain cuneiform texts of the Assyrians translated by Mr. L. W. King, and recently published, is this *Clavicula* or little Key of Solomon, King of Israel, which is the fountain-head and storehouse of Kabbalistic magic. The story is that the book was written by Solomon and buried with him in an ivory casket, being subsequently recovered by certain Babylonian adepts, at the head of whom stood Johé Grevis. Josephus, though he does not mention this particular book, speaks of magical works attributed to Solomon, and though, of course, the original MS. of the *Clavicula*, assuming it existed, must have long since crumbled into dust, manuscript copies of great antiquity exist. The nature of the mistakes that occur in them and yet their similarity one to another, their number, and the great difference in their respective ages, point to the conclusion that one and all must have been copied from older

MSS. and not from each other, and that if this *Clavicula* is not the work of the Israelitish king, it must at any rate be of extreme antiquity. Mr. S. L. Macgregor Mathers collated as many of these manuscripts as he could meet with, restoring, where possible, the defective Hebrew text, and finally publishing a translation of the whole under the title of *The Clavicula Solomonis, The Key of Solomon the King* (London, 1889). In his preface the author states that except in a curtailed and incomplete copy published in France in the 17th century the Key of Solomon had never before been printed. The book is full of magical formulæ, and gives minute directions for summoning spirits, with the forms of the circles necessary to ensure the safety of the operator, such circles being made for choice, in desolate and uninhabited regions, dark and obscure places, at night, with a knife with a black handle, made in the day and hour of Saturn and dipped in the blood of a black cat and the juice of hemlock.

Another ancient book of somewhat the same kind, though dealing exclusively with black magic, is known as *The Great Grimoire*, sometimes, though quite erroneously, attributed to Pope Honorius III. Eliphas Lévi fixes its authorship on Cadulus, Bishop of Parma, the anti-Pope set up by Henry IV of Germany, and a man who from his intrigues, simonies, and abominable conduct, may well be supposed capable of any enormity. There is no English translation of the *Grimoire*, and most of the copies,

sometimes though very rarely met with, are spurious, got up for the most part by inferior French publishers of the last century. All alike, however, whether spurious or genuine, advocate murder and all kinds of crimes. Black magic concerned itself with the evocation of evil spirits for wicked purposes, and it is laid down in this and other books as imperative, that practitioners of this art must be obstinate, and either naturally or affectedly ignorant, the latter for choice; they must have a conscience hardened by crime, and at the same time be subject to sudden fits of the most distressing remorse and terror. If they ever belonged to any religion they must not only abjure it, but profane its ceremonies and insult and degrade its symbols. In the middle ages, and before, the necromancers tore up corpses from their graves and compounded ointments and philtres from their fat and bones, boiling their horrid mixtures over fires made of crucifixes stolen from churches, and human remains. They threw in their chaldrons, toads, snakes, bread used at sacraments, but profaned by being stamped and spat on, and invoked spectres in rotting churchyards or under gibbets. Prior to their evocations they had to observe a fifteen days' fast, taking only one meal without salt (for salt is the symbol of wisdom) after sunset, and every fifth day at night it was necessary to get drunk on wine saturated with black poppy seeds and hemp. Evocations were occasionally followed by pacts in which the magician bargained with

the evil spirit for some temporary advantage in exchange for his soul, and the *Grimoire* contains an appendix of forms of these pacts to be drawn up in duplicate on parchment, the spirit disappearing with the original and the reprobate in the circle swallowing the counterpart. All that a diseased imagination can suggest and all the villainies that it is possible for man to perpetrate, are to be found lauded as virtues in this *Great Grimoire*. No wonder that copies are hardly to be met with, for the Inquisition exhausted every effort to discover and destroy them. The three copies in the British Museum, printed respectively at "Rome" in 1760, at "Rome" in 1800, and at "Memphis" (Paris?), 1817, are all mutilated abridgments, published when the fear of Inquisition had passed away. Other books of the same kind that were seized and destroyed wherever met with, include *Le Dragon Rouge* of Albertus Magnus, and the *Enchiridion* of Pope Leo, two works on black magic, certainly not written by the authors to whom they are attributed.

It is not surprising that the knowledge and wisdom of the Egyptian and Persian Magi which had very slowly, secretly, and with infinite pains, made its way in part, at any rate, to other coteries of Philosophi in various parts of the world, became full of suspicion, in the face of such proceedings as these. The magic of ages, from that of Hermes and Zoroaster to that of Apollonius of Tyana, was being analysed by incompetent persons armed with a little knowledge, and that im-

perfect and mutilated. It consequently became absolutely necessary to be still more secret and mysterious, and seeing this, the Christian church began to fulminate anathemas against every kind of philosophy and every practice which was taught or carried on outside its pale. Among the books of "curious arts" destroyed by St. Paul at Ephesus, tradition numbers not only the necromantic works of the ancients and the *Clavicula* of Solomon, but the books of Hermes, which contained little else but religious and philosophical problems, and were only "curious" in the sense of being misunderstood by those who thought to seriously question principles which could only be truly grasped after years of anxious thought and toil. This burning of the books at Ephesus was a mistake in that the example was followed by the Christian church ever afterwards, almost to our own day, and the very importance thus officially given to equivocal practices caused them to be carried on more than ever. The history of the middle ages is as black as the magic it condemned, black with the most unreasoning prejudice against everything that was not fully understood, and full of the most atrocious falsehoods, woven from ignorance and credulity. No one who sought to move from the beaten track of knowledge was safe for a moment, unless extremely high rank protected him from the clutches of the inquisitors. Pope Hildebrand (Gregory VII) was suspected and openly charged—at a safe distance—with calling down lightning and

shaking thunder from his sleeve; Roger Bacon suffered untold persecution; Albertus Magnus, Bishop of Ratisbon, and his pupil, the saintly Thomas Aquinas, were both charged with necromancy; Savonarola was actually burned for sorcery in 1498, and among the names of many other great men suspected of magic are found those of Martin Luther, Paracelsus, and Trithemius of Spanheim, the history of whose lives and persecutions are to be found in Gabriel Naudé's *Apologie pour tous les grands personnages qui ont esté faussement soupçonnez de Magie*, (Paris, 1625, and later.)

Trithemius of Spanheim, who was the master of Cornelius Agrippa, is the first to mention the notorious Faust of Wittenberg, whose life and sinister history is, however, more particularly set forth for the first time in the *Historia von D. Johan Fausten*, published at Frankfort-on-the-Maine in 1587, 8vo., of which only two copies are known to exist. It has been questioned whether any such person as Faust ever lived, but there can be no doubt of this, for he is mentioned by Melancthon in his Letters, and by Philip Camerarius in the *Horæ Subsecivæ*. The history of Faust, perpetuated as it has been by Marlowe, Lessing, Goethe, and many other writers of less repute, is extremely interesting, for we see at a glance what the state of public opinion was in 1587, when this *Historia* was first published.

It seems that Johann Faust, born in 1491, and carried off by Bêlzébut

some eighty years later, passed the greater part of his life within the walls of the University of Wittenberg, where he was highly esteemed for his learning, especially in the sciences. Weary with the hollowness of that knowledge which taught him primarily that he knew nothing capable of being separated from the great bulk of what there was yet to learn, nothing that he could really call his own, he determined to summon to his aid invisible powers with whom he had long been theoretically acquainted. With this object he went one dark and still night to a thick wood hard by, called Spizzer-holt, where four cross roads met and there, according to art, proceeded, from within the safe circumference of a magic circle, to summon up a spirit sufficiently powerful to be able to give him the help of which he stood in need. No irresponsible little devil was good enough for Faust, so he conjured one of the three supreme rulers of the invisible plane contiguous to our own, namely, Béalzébut. It would be tedious to describe the visions that ensued or the attempts that were made by monstrous abortions to frighten Faust out of his circle, and the impossibility of compelling by his incantations and threats, the appearance of the spirit whose presence he desired. Mephistopheles, a powerful but inferior spirit came at last in a whirlwind of hail and fire and standing in human form at the confines of the circle, demanded to know why he had been called. Faust told him, and suggested an adjournment to his

rooms in the College, which after some argument was agreed to, and it was there that the pact was signed by which the former bartered away his soul for a further lease of twenty-four years' life. Goethe, in his description of the scene in the Gothic Chamber of Wittenberg, mentions the sign of the Microcosm, by means of which Faust bound Mephistopheles and prevented him from departing by the door at which he entered. All the books on magic which describe this geometrical figure, say that when turned with the two horns in the ascendant it represents the powers of evil, but when with one horn, the supreme intelligence. The sign of the Macrocosm is also mentioned by Goethe. This is the double interlaced triangle of Solomon, less powerful than the microcosmic sign, yet very efficacious in binding rebellious spirits when properly used. Both these figures are extremely ancient and full of occult meaning.

With the exception of the *Clavicula* of Solomon and the *Grimoire*, the former the exponent of white magic and the latter of black, by far the most famous book of this kind in existence, and one, moreover, which is readily available and very widely known, is that by Henricus Cornelius Agrippa, published under the title of *De Occulta Philosophia*, at Cologne in 1533, folio. The complete works of this author have often been printed and as good an edition as any is that in 2 vols., 8vo, Lyons, 1600-1605. There is also an English translation by R. Turner of Agrippa's fourth

book, small 4to, 1655, now usually regarded as spurious, which treats of ceremonial magic, describes the forms assumed by the astral spirits of Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury and the Moon, and in a measure explains the method of working. This fourth book is not, however, nearly so precise or methodic as the *Heptameron* of Peter of Abano, which is also to be found in the *Opera* of Agrippa. Peter, who was born at Apono, or Abano, a village near Padua, in 1250 was, like Faust, a man of deep and varied learning. About the year 1300 he was arrested on a charge of consorting with evil spirits and in particular with having seven devils, worse than himself, who instructed him in the seven liberal arts. Nothing could have saved Peter of Abano from the stake but death, and in fact he died the very night before his execution, taken away, so it was said, by some of his demons who, contrary to their usual custom, befriended him to the last. The Inquisitors could not find his body so they burned him in effigy instead. The *Heptameron*, together with the works of Agrippa, supplied Francis Barrett with material for *The Magus*, an English book of practical magic, published in 1801, and since reprinted in facsimile.

It will be observed that the primary object of the black magician was to render himself susceptively nervous, in the first place, by fastings, and afterwards to intoxicate his imagination by drenching himself with narcotics, the process inducing hallucinations

and sometimes temporary madness. The assemblies of witches at nocturnal meetings known as the "Sabbath," for participating in which thousands of people have been executed in past days, one, indeed, so late as 1780, at Clarus, in Switzerland, were merely the outcome of a study of such books as the *Grimoire*, followed by the use of drugs. The witches' "Sabbath" was always held on Friday and their great meeting place the Blocksburg in Germany, though in the days of Elizabeth, and before, our own country was in as evil repute as any for the multitude of these nocturnal assemblies.

In whatever country a witch was suspected she was anathematized by the church (as witness the Bull of Pope Innocent VIII, 1484) and hounded down by the Inquisitorial agents. Books innumerable have been written on this particular phase of the subject, as for example the famous *Malleus Malificarum*, first published in 1489, by Sprenger and others, Commissioners appointed under this Bull to enquire into the crime of witchcraft. The Papal agents visited every part of Europe where the Bull had effect, arrested suspects wholesale and tortured them till they compromised themselves sufficiently, and then burned them. It seems that witches were often charged with killing children for magical purposes, and one old woman arrested by Sprenger is stated, in the second chapter of the *Malleus Malificarum*, to have said in answer to a question, "We watch for children and some-

times they are found dead. Their parents perhaps think they have been overlaid, or have died naturally, but it is we who have killed them. When they are dead and buried we dig them out of their graves and boil them with lime till the flesh comes away from the bones. We make an ointment out of the firmer flesh, and whoever rubs himself with this and repeats proper words, belongs to our band." Though this and every other statement adduced by Sprenger in support of the existence of witches is ridiculed unmercifully by Reginald Scot in his *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), by Johannes Wierus, in his *De Praestigiis Dæmonum* (Basle, 1564), and a few other authors, who thought that if any witches existed at all it was by reason of the satanic persecution of the Courts of Injustice, by far the greater number of authorities were distinctly on the side of the law. King James in his *Dæmonologie in form of a Dialogue* (Edinburgh, 1597, and London, 1603), says in his preface, "The feareful abounding at this time in this countrie of these detestable slaves of the Divil, the witches or enchaunters, hath moved me (beloved reader), to dispatch in post this following treatise of mine . . . against the damnable opinions of two principally in our age, whereof the one called Scot, an Englishman, is not ashamed in publick print to denie that there can be such a thing as witchcraft, and so maintains the old error of the Sadduces in denying of spirits. The other called Wierus, a German Physition, sets out a public apologie

for all these craft-folkes whereby he plainly bewrayes himself to have been one of that profession."

If there be no such thing as witchcraft, neither devils nor spirits, explain, these witchmongers said, if you can, what is meant by the 18th verse of the 22nd Chapter of Exodus, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," by the whole of the Book of Job, and more particularly by the 15th verse of the 4th Chapter, "Then a spirit passed before my face; the hair of my flesh stood up:" explain away the story of the "Witch of Endor," the references to Simon Magus, and Elymas the sorcerer, and the story of the swine that rushed into the sea of Genneseret.

In truth such passages are not easily answered, but on the other hand, says Scot in effect, why should the devil go out of his way to secure the soul of some wretched old woman which by every rational argument is his already? This is the position taken up by Tartarelli in the *Del Congresso notturno delle lamie* (1750), by Christian Thomasius in the *De Crimine Magiæ* (1701), and other authors. If you believe the Bible you cannot deny that there are supernatural beings such as it describes, but we say that it is not in their power, nor in yours, to form disgraceful and one-sided compacts, nor in yours, at any rate, to ride through the air on broomsticks to the Sabbath, nor to render yourself invisible, nor to change yourself into a black cat or dog whenever you like. That if such things appear to be, it is

owing to deception or hallucination, naturally or artificially induced, and that Sprenger, when he says the contrary, doth, as Scot puts it "most impudently lie." These are some of the arguments which were brought up at last to confound the Romish Inquisitors, to weaken their energy, to ridicule fulminations like that of the Council of Ancyra, directed against women who rode about at night on all kinds of beasts with Diana and Herodias (see *Council of Ancyra*, Semler, Th. 1, p. 138), and to encourage the people to resist persecutions which in the end would decimate them.

Imagination is a most powerful factor in all cases and frequently misleads the most practical among us. Mesmerism, or hypnotism as it is now called, though once scoffed at, is a real and actual force which can under certain conditions cause men to believe anything whatever, and to do anything they may be told to do, good or evil. The hypnotic state can be induced by means of unguents such as the witches are reported to have used as a preliminary to indulging in those midnight orgies which Pierre de Lancre, another Inquisitor, describes in his *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et démons* (Paris, 1613, the second edition—the first having appeared in 1612). To face page 118 of this book there is a plate representing the Sabbath, and its ridiculous ceremonies. We know too, from other authors, what kinds of ointments the witches were accustomed to use. For instance, Christo-

val Acosta in his *De opii usu*, 1620, says that wine drugged with the seeds of the *Datura Stramonium*, that is to say, the Thorn Apple, will render the person who drinks it perfectly unconscious, though curiously enough he converses as though in the full possession of his senses. When he wakes he either remembers nothing or is haunted by realistic memories according to his temperament. The species of Aconite known as *Napellus* was experimented upon by Van Helmont, one of the first physicians of his age. He found that it produced extraordinary sensations and that the powers of thought were invariably transferred from the head to the pit of the stomach. This is true that a cult of philosophers once existed who maintained that the stomach was the seat of the soul, which is true enough in the case of some people. Deadly-nightshade produces most realistic visions and Henbane a feeling of flying in the air through clouds. These two last were the witches' favourite drugs; a small dose was taken internally to help the effect, but the strength was absorbed by the skin which was rubbed over with an ointment made of one or other of these poisons mixed with soot. Then came the Sabbath, an assembly at which a goat-headed Prince, Samael, presided, distributing poisons, medicines, and evil counsel. Witches crowned with vervain and wild parsley, slaughtered unbaptized children in the light of the moon, enormous toads blew the flute backwards and crabs whistled in rhythm, while witches danced madly

with demons and abortions till they dropped from exhaustion. Add to this a wild uproar, feastings, wine which, if spilt, stained like blood, wickedness of every conceivable kind, phantasms in which lay murdered corpses, illusions, screams, curses, rattlings in the throat, and we have a faint description of the Sabbath as detailed and more particularly described by Pierre de Lancre, the *Malleus Malificarum*, Bodinus in his *Démonomanie des Sorciers*, Martin Delrio's *Disquisitionum Magicarum Libri*, Joseph Glanville's *Saducismus Triumphatus*, and many other voracious and entertaining authorities mentioned in the Cyclopædic Dictionary of Franciscus Torreblanca.

Prosecutions for witchcraft and every species of magical practice were abolished in England by George II, and since 1536 we have not heard so much of incubi and succubi and those foolish stories that figure so largely in the trials of a couple of centuries and more ago, and were almost universally believed in at the time, even by

men of learning and sound common sense like Sir Matthew Hale, and Sir Thomas Browne.

To say, however, that the mysteries of magic, even in their grosser form, are mysteries no longer, and that the whole phantasmagoria which surrounds them has been banished as a mere illusive dream, would be to assume too much. The literature of the subject is not yet obsolete. Books are continually being published. There are devil-worshippers in Paris and elsewhere, and many other memorials of a former condition exist in secret. In the words of De Quincey, "the dread swell and agitation of the storm have not wholly subsided; the legions are drawing off, but not all departed," dreams are still tumultuous and like the gates of Paradise to our first parents when looking back from afar, are still,

"With dreadful faces throng'd, and
fiery arms."

Read before the London Bibliographical Society, March 16, 1896. Reprinted from their *Transactions*.



Of the books that have come lately to our table, three are found to be of more than ordinary interest to bibliophiles, for the reason that a bibliophile is responsible for each of them. It is becoming a pleasantly popular habit with collectors to add to the number of books for the bibliophile. They may put into print some of their own essays on phases of their favorite pursuit, or bibliographical contributions which their own collections, and the information they have collected along with their books, make them extraordinarily well fitted to compile. Or, lacking the *cacoethes scribendi*, they may reprint some rare little pamphlet or ephemeral production which has not before been made available to those who would most appreciate it. It is not usual for the collector to publish these contributions to book literature, but to have printed, in quiet good taste, enough copies to supply the probable desire for them among his friends and fellow-collectors. He makes a list of those who would probably value the book, from interest either in its contents or in himself. His edition is gauged by

these, and usually there is no buying or selling of copies until Time's inevitable scattering of collections brings presentation copies into the auction room.

Sometimes, however, the collector who is unknown to the author or reprinter is given his chance at copies. The author may find the cost of printing more than would be justified by the handful of copies called for by his friends or book club. Or he may have a regard for the unknown and self-respecting collector who would like a copy but would not beg for it. He finds that fifty copies will supply his own needs, but orders a hundred printed and lets it be known that fifty are for sale.

The first method is, it seems to us, the true bibliophile method. A collector of means will often pay more for a single book for his collection than it will cost him to print a hundred copies of another book which will give pleasure to a hundred people, put him in the way of receiving many similar pleasures, and mark him at once as a bibliophilic altruist. On the other hand, all bibliophiles are

not men of means. The altruistic impulse may be hampered by a short purse. Then why may not the altruist add another unselfish thought, for the man who would be glad to have that book if he might buy it, and print his book in a big enough edition so that the copies sold will pay for themselves and for the copies given away,—and so make the world happier and the altruist no poorer.

There, though, enters the serpent. If no poorer, why not a little richer? He may not sell his fifty copies. Better double the price, that it may suffice to sell twenty-five. Then, how shall people buy if they do not know what is for sale? He must advertise. And his book must sell for enough to pay for its advertising. And presently the whole machinery is in motion and he is publishing to the world the fact that his "privately printed" book is for sale. Which means, simply, that he has published the book as a commercial venture, and it is not "privately printed" at all, no matter what the title-page says.

No one has the slightest objection to his publishing the book. That in itself is often a great enough service to his fellow man—to make common property of a piece of good literature or knowledge that had before lain hidden in an author's manuscript, a faded pamphlet, or a long-forgotten magazine. Let no collector feel that this is beneath him, and let no man hesitate to proclaim what he has done. He has published a book. Well and good. Even very well and very good, perhaps. Then why spoil

the sincerity of his action by saying "Behold, I have printed a book for myself and my friends, and I find I have more copies than friends. If strangers would have, therefore, they may pay me their money and take. But let no one think the paying and taking a commercial transaction. The book is privately printed." The last degree of absurdity in this direction was reached by a publisher last winter, who advertised for sale a book "issued" in an edition of a hundred and fifty copies, at a price about five times the cost of the printing, and blandly explained that "the book will not be published, but is printed for a very limited public." Which proved such successful bait that the "limited public" soon exhausted the edition.

But casting aside these things that "are seldom what they seem," let us get back to this genuinely private little reprint which was the point of departure.

THE DANIEL PRESS. By Falconer Madan, Esq., M. A., F. S. A., Fellow of Brasenose College, Oxford. The Philosopher Press, Van Vechten & Ellis, Wausau, Wisconsin.

In the London *Times* for February 20, 1903, appeared a delightful paper on the Daniel Press, with a bibliography, by Falconer Madan. It was the first satisfactory narrative of the Daniels and their press, the first complete bibliography. Great is the circulation of the immortal *Times*, yet there are many Americans who never see it, and many more who did not see the number for February 20, 1903. If

the editor of *THE LITERARY COLLECTOR*, for instance, had set his eyes on that bibliography, would he have given a private collector the opportunity to send it out to Wausau, Wisconsin, to be put into book form before any mention of it, even, found its way to his paper? But it was the enviable good fortune of Mr. Joseph M. Andreini, the New York collector, to find Mr. Madan's article, and his is the credit for its appearance in a small quarto volume of twenty-five or more pages of hand-made paper, bound in gray boards, fifty copies printed "by Mrs. Helen Bruneau Van Vechten, at the Philosopher Press, which is in Wausau, Wisconsin, at the Sign of the Green Pine Tree, for private issue by Mr. Joseph Manuel Andreini."

The Reverend C. H. O. Daniel and his brother, W. E. Daniel, had printed a few things on a tiny hand-press at Frome Selwood Vicarage, in Somerset, beginning their trials as early as 1846; but the first issue of the Daniel Press at Oxford was a list of a hundred and fifty Civil War pamphlets, *Notes from a Catalogue of Pamphlets in Worcester College Library*, twenty-five copies of which were printed in 1874. Three years later, Mr. Daniel printed from a Worcester College manuscript a singular Civil War discourse called *A New Sermon of the newest fashion*.

The press used for the first books was the tiny one from Frome Vicarage, but in 1882 a fine hand-press was procured, which not Mr. Daniel alone, but his whole family have made their

pastime. Mrs. Daniel has had her active share, and the entire setting and printing of at least three issues are her work.

Miss Rachel Daniel appears at the end of her first year as the subject of the *Garland of Rachel*, printed in 1881, which consisted of poems of greeting on her birthday, by nearly a score of her father's literary friends. Thirty-six copies were printed, with a special title-page for each author's copy. In 1885, a little book of *Songs* by William Blake was presented by "Rachel and Ruth to their child friends," and in 1897 Miss Rachel herself printed twelve copies of Keble's *Easter Day*.

In 1884 a little four-page list of the Daniel books was issued, which gave, for the first time, prices for the books. Only a few shillings have been charged for most of those sold, and the editions have been very small, in only five cases rising above one hundred and fifty, and in many cases far below that. The press has always been "emphatically uncommercial."

"It has won its way to unpremeditated influence by its literary aim, by the revival of pleasant pieces of old-world literature, by the coterie of friends who have more than once contributed to a 'garland' of verse, by the coveted first editions of Mr. Robert Bridges's poems and plays, and by personal contributions of other poets, such as Mrs. Margaret Woods's lyrics. But the lover of books is specially attracted by a peculiar charm of topography and finish, derived from Mr. Daniel's orna-

mental grouping of seventeenth century woodcut devices, from his re-discovery and use of Fell's old-faced type which had lain forgotten at the Clarendon Press for a century and a half, and from the delicate 'miniation,' the red capital letters with flowing tendril ornament, which were painted in several of the volumes by Mrs. Daniel, just as the old illuminators treated the early products of printing. This and the well-known printer's mark, cut in wood by Mr. Alfred Parsons, and representing Daniel in the lion's den, with the legend 'Misit Angelvm Svvm,' just supply the personal element wanting to complete the reader's pleasure and contentment."

The bibliography, with dates and careful collations, records fifty-three books and ten broadsides and leaflets as the product of the press to the end of 1902.

BOOK-LOVERS, BIBLIOMANIACS AND BOOK CLUBS.
By Henry H. Harper. Privately printed at
the Riverside Press, Cambridge, Boston,
MDCDIV.

Mr. Harper is one of those lovers who delight in inscribing sonnets to their mistress' eye-brow, and in gathering into a nose-gay the flowers that other lovers have cast at her feet. His book is in part what most books are nowadays that deal with the subject—a more or less clever compilation of the choicest of the Dictes and Sayings of the Bookmen, from the indispensable Dibdin down to the inimitable Adrian H. Joline. Every book by a bibliomaniac has at

least one chapter that is a continuation of the bibliographical Story of the House that Jack Built.

But we must not call our author a bibliomaniac, or he will be crying for vengeance. "There is as much difference" he says "between the inclinations and taste of a bibliophile and a bibliomaniac as between a slight cold and the advanced stages of consumption." He believes in the curability of bibliomania by rational treatment, "unless, perchance, the victim has passed beyond the curative stages into the vast and dreamy realms of extra-illustrating, or 'grangerizing.'"

But while he points out "several species of bibliophiles," and "*many* species of bibliomaniacs," the author, in describing some characters in book land, discloses some symptoms of his own which we do not remember to have met in any other afflicted persons.

The whole class has always united in execrating, with great variety of language, the villain who carries home his neighbor's book and never carries it back. But since the days of Jean Grolier, Bilibald Pirckheimer, *et amicorum*, has lover of books and bookmen spoken thus? ". . . we may begin with a class of *literary barnacles* who stick about the libraries of their friends and of the public institutions, and feed their bibliophilistic appetites on what others have spent much time and money in collecting. These may perhaps more appropriately be called biblio-spongers, and are of all ranks in the community, many even owning beautiful homes,

and having ample resources at command * * * These people should be taught that fine books, like friends, are not loanable or exchangeable chattels. They will argue that there is no use spending money for books, because they reside within reach of a public library where such books as they desire are readily obtainable, or perhaps suggest that 'I have free access to my friend Smith's library; he scarcely ever uses it;' without reflecting that Smith would probably use it more, if his friends used it less."

Well! Poor man, poor man! What insufferable bore has invaded his *sanctum sanctorum* and sits unbidden, like the raven, in his study? Surely none but the bitterest personal experience could bring one who claims fellowship with the book lovers, to such a bibliopenurious frame of mind. Thank heaven, we do not know his bore! We had not known of his very existence. Our experience has been that the collector has not expected comprehension of his passion from his ordinary acquaintance, but that once he chanced to catch a gleam of kindred passion in your eye, he hailed with joy a fellow enthusiast and was eager to see your treasures and show you all his own,—ready to let you study or take notes from the books he knew you could not get because *he* had them. The book-collector, it had always seemed, was a fortunate man because he could give so much pleasure to others without impoverishing himself. We have found him grateful for any mite we could add to his hobby, sym-

pathetic of our own to the point of robbing himself of a book he thought meant more to us than to him.

He is often impulsively generous. We love the tale a bookman told us of two of New York's big collectors. The banker and the lawyer sat in the banker's library of a wintry night, warming their outer men by the cheerful fire, the inner with nut-brown ale, while their spirits were fired by the sight of the banker's newest, oldest manuscript, priceless and enviable. Loud were the lawyer's praises, and as fire and ale and friendly enthusiasm warmed the cockles of the banker's heart, he arose at the lawyer's departure and presented him formally with the object of his admiration. This is a Lady-and-Tiger story, and the narrator will never tell us whether or not the lawyer accepted the gift, or, if he did, how the poor banker felt next morning! But thereon the moral hinges not. The example is given of the ideal collector, rejoicing less in his book than in his friend's enjoyment of it—not sitting sourly, wishing his guest out of the way, that he might pore in solitude over his miser's hoard.

Mr. Harper's hobby is the limited edition—not the book rarity caused perhaps by the unexpected popularity of a by-gone writer's first success, but the designedly rare book, the perfect bit of bookmanship put out by some book club, printed for its members only, the possession of it carrying prestige to its owner as one of the inner circle. As an advocate and active participator in several Simon-pure book-clubs he has made a study of

their imitators, and his tales of the fake societies that ape the names and manners of well known clubs, like the Grolier Club and the Bibliophile Society, are very instructive. Mr. Harper's connection with the publishing business has brought him opportunities to see the inner workings of some fine frauds. His book contains much real information from a rich personal experience.

The Riverside Press has made this essay into an attractive book of ninety-six quarto pages, in black-faced old-style type, on a heavy hand-made paper, unmarked. It is illustrated with a half-dozen very attractive pen and ink drawings by Louis Maynelle, according to the letter-press, though the sketches are signed "L. Meynell."

The title page is within an emblematic border, and appropriate designs decorate the French vellum case—together a tastefully designed and very well printed book. It is entered as privately printed, but some copies are on sale. The preface says that the essay is produced, "not for publication before the great audience of readers, but for the exclusive use of the members of a private Book Club." The name of the club is not given, nor is the size of the edition indicated.

THE BOOK COLLECTOR AND OTHER PAPERS.

By Adrian Hoffman Joline. Privately printed at the Literary Collector Press, Greenwich, Connecticut, 1904.

The third of the bibliophile's group of books is a collection of papers on diverse subjects, whose author has already endeared himself to his fellow

collectors by his two published books, *Meditations of an Autograph Collector*, and *The Diversions of a Book Lover*.

In the preface, the author says, with becoming modesty: "The papers included in this book have been gathered together merely for those friends who may care enough for them to give the volume a place on the shelves of their libraries, and not because there is anything in them which is worthy of preservation."

So the volume is printed for private distribution in an edition of only one hundred and fifty copies, in a two hundred and thirty page octavo volume on Ruisdael hand-made paper; with title-page in black and red, and a binding of gray boards with red leather label on the vellum back.

Five of the seven papers have already been printed; "The Book Collector" in the Third Year-Book of the Bibliophile Society of Boston; "Remarks about Autographs" in the *Independent*; "Concerning a Certain Affectation of the Great" and "William Harrison Ainsworth" in *The Literary Collector*; and an address on "Railway Reorganizations" in the Proceedings of the Maryland State Bar Association. Two new papers are added, "Of the Old Fashion" and "An American Abroad."

While the main trend of the book is bookish, the author's breadth of interest is shown by the inclusion of these last three. "Railway Reorganizations" is the address of an eminent lawyer to an assembly of lawyers, on a subject of which his exposition will

be read with great interest by as large an audience of lawyers and financiers as are permitted to see it.

The paper on William Harrison Ainsworth is of most serious literary interest. Mr. Joline has a wealth of autograph Ainsworth material, including over two hundred of his letters, a memorandum book, an account of travels in Italy written for his wife, and some of George Cruikshank's letters to Ainsworth. He is thus able to draw on unpublished autobiographic sources in this study, in addition to those already published, and the paper has the more value because Ainsworth has been neglected by the critics and biographers, though his books still circulate vigorously enough in the libraries of both America and England. A biography is soon to appear, Mr. Joline says, by "a devoted admirer of Ainsworth," who has made helpful use of Mr. Joline's collection. The present interest in Ainsworth is a rather uncertain quantity, but this admirable paper will call him again to the minds of his old readers, and make many new admirers for *Jack Sheppard* and the long list of fascinating stories which were the result of a long life of literary industry.

A briefer paper "Of the Old Fashion" is a glance back to "the fifties" and a defense of the "old fogies" who found New York in some ways a more delectable town a half-century ago than now. Then Astor Place was "the hub of the metropolis." Mr. Joline tells how a "gentleman of the old school whom I loved sincerely, invariably proceeded from Thirtieth

Street [where the Hudson River Railroad had its terminus] and after the genesis of the Grand Central Station from Forty-second Street to the Astor House, from which venerable house of cheer he wended his way serenely to Union Square, or to Madison Square, or to any quarter where his business or his pleasure led him, however remote it might be from City Hall Park."

The magazines of to-day vaunt their superiority to anything that ever was, but Mr. Joline finds in a shabbily bound volume of *Graham's Magazine* "a wilderness of delight." "What soul will decline to be thrilled at the lovely skit entitled 'Born to Love Pigs and Chickens' by that butterfly of literature, Nathaniel Parker Willis, which you will find in the number for February, 1843. Consider the portrait of Charles Fenno Hoffman, with his exquisite coatlet, his wonderful legs attired in what appear to be tights, and his mild but intellectual countenance beaming upon us as he sits, bare-headed, upon a convenient stage rock, holding in one hand an object which may be a pie, a boxing-glove or a hat, according to the imagination of the beholder. Contemplate the list of contributors, including Bryant, Cooper, Longfellow, Lowell, and 'Edgar A. Poe, Esq.,' the 'Esq.' adding a delicious dignity to each of the illustrious names. It was only 'sixty years since,' but can any magazine of to-day rival that catalogue?"

Two of the active spirits of the olden time have only recently left the scene—Parke Godwin and William Allen

Butler. To these last connecting links the writer says a reluctant "Vale." So entirely does he identify himself, in this paper, with the spirit of the middle nineteenth century that one who did not know the author to be only now in the prime of intellectual life would feel that this was another "old-timer" looking back to the days when life was fullest for him; whereas he was in fact but a young boy, growing up in close touch with the intellectual and artistic life in which his elders loved to carry the appreciative lad.

The title essay on "The Book Collector" is the delightful chat of an enthusiast about his hobby. "As a rule," he says, "a long-lived and contented race are these accumulators

of books and ancient manuscripts." He defends the collector against the sneers of the unwise. The paper is so pre-eminently quotable that it is safest not to begin. Gratitude to the author for many pleasant hours may still take the authorized form of "a lively sense of favors yet to come," encouraged by this paragraph in "Remarks about Autographs:"

"The London *Athenaeum* observed in 1855 that 'the story of what History owes to the autograph collectors would make a pretty book.' That book has never yet been written, but I intend to write it in that happy period of life when a man has time to do as he pleases."



A JAPANESE COLLECTION IN AMERICA.

Springfield, Massachusetts, possesses one of the best collections of Japanese art—in fact, Mr. D. H. Maynard avers, in the August *Craftsman*, that "in at least one important special feature, that of *cloissonné* enamel, it outranks the combined collections of the Metropolitan Museum in New York and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts."

The Springfield City Library Association has an inspiring history. Failing to secure a public library through the city government, in 1857 a voluntary association of citizens was formed for the maintenance of a library through private subscriptions. Two affiliated societies, the Springfield Institute and the Y. M. C. A., gave their libraries to the new Association, and

citizens aided it with books and money. The present library quarters, the William Rice building, was erected in 1871. In 1889 the building had become crowded; and a new building for an Art Museum was made the condition on which hinged the presentation to the Association of the fine art collection of Mr. George Walter Vincent Smith, and the valuable collection of laces owned by Mrs. Smith. Private subscriptions erected a hundred thousand dollar building on a thirty-five thousand dollar site.

"To-day, the buildings and collections include those of the William Rice building, the Art Museum, the Natural History Museum, and a heating plant of artistic design."

An invaluable point in the plan of the Association is the coöperation of library and museum.

In the Natural History Museum (which has the finest existing collection of the birds of the Connecticut valley) is located the Catherine L. Howard Memorial Library of Science; and in the Art Museum is housed the art library, equipped with all modern devices for the proper handling of the bulky and costly works of reference. Thus the student works to the best advantage with the best examples and the best text-books of his art side by side. The books must be a hundred per cent. more good than if they were separated from the museum as in most libraries.

The special strength of the Smith collection lies in its Japanese ceramics, enamels, metals and other forms of art. There are one hundred pieces of *cloisonné* enamel, many of great antiquity and rare beauty. There are fine bronzes, some beautiful Japanese swords and guns of other Asiatic peoples. Japanese painting is well represented, and on a façade of the Museum are inscribed the names of the famous Japanese artists, Ritsno, Karin, Masamune and Miochin. This is the first instance in America of the inclusion of the Japanese artists with those of the Occident in such an arrangement. The whole planning, arrangement and decoration are so harmonized that "the whole appears as carefully planned as a beautiful piece of mosaic in which each particle has been chosen with the utmost care and skill."

A LITERARY BLACKMAILER OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

One of the best-known characters of the sixteenth century is so nearly forgotten to-day that Paul Van Dyke's account of him in the August *Atlantic* introduces him to many new acquaintances—friends he is not likely to make. Pietro Aretino was a man of phenomenal cleverness, who made his living by his wits in the days of Pope Leo X. at Rome, and afterward for thirty years at Venice. By his ability to please those whom it was worth his while to please, and to hold up to ridicule those who did not make it worth his while to please them, he became a power at the court of Leo X, and lived in the height of luxury and fashion. In a pastoral dialogue of his day, one of the characters is warned to "Try your best to have Aretino for your friend, because he is a bad enemy. God guard every one from his tongue."

At the death of the profligate Pope there was bitter warfare over the succession. Aretino took up his pen "for the family of his patron, issuing a series of mordant satires on the cardinals. The form he gave them foretells the vigorous originality of his talent. He never cared for the fashionable style and methods of the trained littérateurs of his day. His bent took him into unbeaten paths. Six times in his career he gave to a literary form, as yet but little used, new power and vigour. And now,

while fighting for his patron like other bravi of the pen, he made the beginning of a fame which might be called Italian. Pietro was, so far as we know, the first man whose name became noted outside of Rome as a writer of Pasquinades." These Pasquinades were satiric compositions with which the writer placarded the stone image of Pasquino, which was referred to as producing them.

When Clement became pope Aretino directed his attention, at the urging of the Pope's enemies, to satirizing his chief counselor. He was nearly murdered by an adherent of the latter's house, and failing to gain redress left Rome for Venice, where for twenty-nine years he wielded his tongue and pen to such good effect that he lived in a palace on the Grand Canal, and had an income of perhaps eighteen hundred ducats a year. This income was not from the sale of his books. In his first published volume of letters is printed one to his publisher, in which he says: "The only profit I wish is your testimony that I have given them to you. I wish, God willing, to get my pay for the fatigues of writing, not from the poverty of those who buy my books, but from the 'Cortesia' of Princes. Let him learn to be a merchant who seeks material gain, and practicing the trade of a bookseller, lay aside the name of a poet. . . . So print my letters carefully and well, because I do not want any other return from you." If the "Cortesia" or patronage of the great was forthcoming, "Servitù" was the payment genius must make for it, and "he believed that his writings would give eternal glory to those mentioned in them, and he called himself 'the secretary of the world.' The belief was not too fatuous in one who was told in various forms by dozens of correspondents 'your benefits are of such a nature that they render immortal those who receive them.' And the world of great men treated him like its secretary, with gifts of splendid garments, heavy gold chains, splendid plate, and streams of ducats. The man who was pensioned and complimented simultaneously by Henry VIII. of England, Francis I. of France, and the Emperor Charles V., might not unreasonably claim to hold a position of international authority in the world of letters."

In his published letters to his patrons, (about four thousand letters from and to him were printed) he carries adulation and flattery to the *nth* degree, and played on the common weakness of the men of his age—a craving for fame and glory. And if some found the price of his praise too high, he gave them satire, ridicule, dispraise, until the thin skinned Italians dreaded his enmity enough to buy his friendship at any price.

"He tried his hand with success at comedy, tragedy, letters, verse, religious works and pornographic works, but his specialty was

maldicentia. It was admitted that he had the worst tongue in Italy. Nobody cared to feel the rough side of it." His published writings are bad enough, but his reputation as the most dangerous man in the world "he maintained in satiric verse and unpublished letters circulated, for the most part, in manuscript. By these less public writings he could cause fear without giving offense, and if necessary he could disavow them."

"He left to posterity, as a proud record of glory, a medal which shows on the reverse Aretino seated while figures bring him gifts. The inscription reads, 'Princes supported by the tribute of their people bring tribute to their servant.'"

A COLLECTION OF GREASE-PAINTINGS.

The *August Strand* has an entertaining account of the mural decorations of Mr. Cyril Maude's dressing-room at the Haymarket Theatre in London. One night Mr. W. W. Jacobs, describing a new story, picked up a stick of white grease-paint and made an impromptu sketch of a schooner on the only available space for a sketch—the wardrobe mirror. He was commanded to sign it and it still remains there unmolested. The walls and doors are covered with portraits, caricatures, character sketches, all in the same medium in divers colors. Bernard Partridge, A. G. Onslow, Leslie Ward, Tom Browne, H. Arthur Hogg, Holman Clark, Basil Gotto, Canon Norris—a score of well-known names are scrawled on the walls acknowledging responsibility for an "art collection" which is certainly without a rival.

FÉLIX BRACQUEMOND'S ENGRAVINGS.

In a study of the very interesting work in oils, pastel, designs for faïence and etching of Félix Bracquemond, Henri Frantz says in the *August Studio*: "But the great work of his life is etching, to which he later returned almost entirely. Certain general classifications may be made in the eight hundred plates the master has signed. Throughout the whole series of his works Bracquemond shows himself, in the first place, an admirable translator of the great masters after whom he has produced etchings at once very personal, very free, and absolutely faithful to the meaning of the painter."

"With Bracquemond, as with all the great engravers, from Rembrandt to Whistler, the various 'states' of his engravings have a special interest for the amateur. All engravings, whatever be their technique, have this peculiarity, that they preserve positive testimony as to how the work of engraving the plate was conducted from start to finish. These evidences are known as 'states.' The 'state' of a plate (the master has once more confirmed my opinion) in course of execution is indispensable to the engraver, in order that he may

know the exact depths of the lines he has hollowed out on the metal, whether by acid or by steel. For let it be understood that it is a very delicate business; the engraving metal gives but a false idea—a vague indication—of the depths to which its surface has been pierced. Thus the artist can never know the degree of effect, the technical expression—the *value*, in a word, of his work until he shall have seen its impression on paper. The 'state' tells him how near the plate is to completion, or how far away; therefore on examining carefully these 'states' one is able to discover how the engraver completes or corrects the action of the acid or the graver. The 'state' is accordingly more than a testimony of technical dexterity only; it is more particularly a most subtle and precise artistic test of the engraver's knowledge of modelling; and it is for that reason one looks with such extreme interest at the 'states' of each engraving of Bracquemond."

GEORGE SAND.

M. Emil Aucante contributes to *Gil Blas* his personal reminiscences of the great novelist, as whose secretary he served from 1842 to 1858. He describes her manner of dealing with her publishers, and says that the bulk of her composition was done between midnight and sunrise.

In *L'Echo de Deux Mondes*, the French fortnightly literary magazine published at the University of Chicago, Jules Claretie describes the statue of George Sand unveiled at the Luxembourg gardens July 1st, commemorating her one hundredth anniversary. This statue represents Mme. Dudevant at the age of twenty-seven, and is highly praised by Claretie and by the Parisian journal, *L'Illustration*, which prints an appreciation of Sand. *Figaro* is printing daily some of her unpublished letters, which are soon to appear in book form.

HENRY BRADSHAW: LIBRARIAN AND SCHOLAR.

Dr. Ewald Flügel, of Stanford University, read before the Library Association of California, last January, a paper on the great librarian of Cambridge University. This is published in the *Library Journal* for August. Henry Bradshaw became assistant librarian of the University in 1856. After two years in this position he found that his arduous duties prevented him from studying the manuscripts and incunabula of the Library as he wished to. So he resigned his position in order that he might enjoy the Library as a private student. His knowledge of and his fitness for such work won for him a special place on the staff where he received a small salary for doing what he chose. In this anomalous position he remained for eight years, becoming a master in bibliography and palæotypography, and through his study

of the Cambridge manuscripts, making many important discoveries. "Among these there is first the discovery of the *Book of Deer* in 1857, of the Celtic glosses in the Juvenius MS. in 1858 (which meant practically the discovery of the ancient Breton language), of the missing volumes of Morland's *Vaudois MSS.* and their true date in 1862, of Colard Mansion's *L'Estrif de Fortune et Vertu* in 1866, and of Barbour's *Lives of Saints and Siege of Troy*.

"Besides these brilliant achievements he mastered a multitude of languages, beginning with Swedish and ending with Tibetan, Armenian, etc., and worked in Chaucer, Wycliffe, Caxton, 'anatomized' (to use his own phrase), the early Dutch printers, established the rime-test for Chaucer, and the original order of the *Canterbury Tales*, throwing light on every subject which he touched."

In 1867 he succeeded Prof. Mayor as Librarian. He now subordinated his own studies to his official duties, and became a tower of strength to visiting scholars and students. He gave thousands of books from his Irish collection to the library, and his services to all were ceaseless. He rejoiced when Mommsen came to study the *Gildas MS.*, he lent his scholarship to any that needed it.

"Bradshaw was the first authority on early English and Irish bibliography in England, one of the first authorities on palæography, the first Chaucer scholar of his time, and in the front rank of more than onespecial study; and, above all, he was a great man, a warm hearted, full-blooded, generous man, who had given the best example of his teaching, that the first duty of a librarian, and also his chief glory is unselfish devotion to his fellow-men."

He died suddenly at the age of only fifty-five. "He had come home from supper, sat down to do a little more work on Irish bibliography, late at night, when the angel of death closed the book before him. The lamp had gone out, the fire was burnt down, when on the morning of Feb. 11, 1886, his servant found him sitting dead in his armchair before his desk."

MODERN LITERARY TITLES.

A writer in the *Nation* for September 1, laments the decadence of the book-title of the day. "The generous amplitude of the descriptive title of the Georgian or Elizabethan volume puts to blush the parsimony of the book of to-day. The artistic balance which the successive lines observe upon the plethoric title-leaf suggests the lettering which we reserve for lapidary inscriptions. And if, as so often happens, the frontispiece opposite is adorned with a cut, it is not a wishy-washy half-tone or a characteristic photogravure, but a veritable intaglio to be given in the visual memory for all time. * * *

"In point of matter, too, the doubtful reader need be kept in suspense as to the character of

the older volume only long enough to digest the contents of the first page." Fifty years ago a sub-title added its explanation to the title, but "the pinched and meagre title-page of our degenerate days" gives only the vaguest clue to the contents or subject of the book. "However modern usage may exempt the writer of books from giving his brain's progeny a long-winded name, there is no forgiveness for such as cudgel their wits to invent titles which serve as bald symbols of bewilderment. It should be actionable at law to issue books called by such interrogatories as *Whither?* or *Can You Forgive Her?* or *Who Pays Your Taxes?* In one particular only has the modern title-page shown any symptom of growth, and that is in the line devoted to the adulation of the author. All the space on the title-page that he can spare from the mystification of the reader, he devotes to the recital of his own degrees and honors."

The prolix preface of the earlier writer appeals also to the essayist, and the lengthy chapter heading is a thing to mourn for. "The normal attitude of the intending reader to an unknown treatise is that of Simple Simon to the pieman—'Let me taste your ware'; and nothing short of our modern sterility of invention or our miserly niggardliness of material can account for the fact that when he asks for bread we give him a stone."

THE DECADENCE OF PUBLISHING IN GERMANY.

A Russian journalist writes to *Rousska Viedmosti* from Leipzig that Germany and the Continental countries generally are falling into a decline intellectually, and that great books are now seldom written and more seldom published. A book must be a large seller to receive any consideration from the publishers, and to be a large seller it must be of a light and popular character, to appeal to a public absorbed in business, which wants books only to read when travelling or tired and wanting recreation. "The attitude of publishers toward men of science and literature is cold indifference, even scornful contempt." The authors are depressed by this, the publishers accuse them of mediocrity, and the public passes by both and reads the periodicals. "Books nowadays are read only by professors, idiots, scholars, and prisoners confined in solitude." The pessimistic writer signs himself "Boukva."

COLLECTANEA.

ART COLLECTIONS. The Ionides collection [of paintings, drawings, etchings and engravings] of South Kensington. By W. K. West. Illus. *Studio*, August.
The Constantine Ionides bequest. Illus. *Burlington*, August.

- BOOK-PLATES.** List of exhibits at the annual exhibition of the Ex Libris Society, 1904. *Ex Libris Journal*, August.
- List of Festoon Plates. I. Compiled by J. F. Verster. Illus. *Ex Libris Journal*, August.
- Die französischen Ex Libris von heute. By Octave Uzanne. Illus. In *Zeitschrift für Bucherfreunde*, August.
- CELTIC LITERATURE.** Pagan Celticism. By Thomas Walsh. *Reader*, August.
- COBDEN, RICHARD.** Cobden bibliography. II., 1847-76. *Notes and Queries*, 10th series; 2: 3-5.
- DIBDIN, CHARLES.** A bibliographical account of the Works of Charles Dibdin, [1808-14.] By E. R. Dibdin. *Notes and Queries*, 10th series, 1: 502-3.
- FURNITURE.** Eighteenth Century Furniture at Bradford. By R. S. Clouston. Illus. *Burlington*, August.
- HAWTHORNE.** The Centenary of Hawthorne. By Bliss Perry. *Atlantic*, August.
- HUGO.** Victor Hugo. By Thomas Seccombe and L. M. Brandin. Illus. *London Bookman*, August.
- IOWA.** A bibliography of Iowa State Publications for 1898 and 1899. II. (Continuing I, July, 1903). *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, July, 1904.
- LINCOLN.** Memorial of President Lincoln. [Suite of poems.] By Walt Whitman. Reprinted in the *Bibelot*, August.
- NAVAL HISTORY.** A selected list of Works in the New York Public Library relating to Naval History, etc. III. *Bulletin of the N. Y. Public Library*, August.
- PAINTINGS.** Zur Geschichte der Eskorial Bibliothek. By Dr. Rudolf Beer. Illus. *Zeitschrift für Bucherfreunde*, August.
- POTTERY.** Old Moustiers Ware. By Henri Frantz. Illus. *Burlington*, August.
- PRIVATE COLLECTIONS.** Die Bibliothek der Marquise von Pompadour. By Max Harrwitz. In *Zeitschrift für Bucherfreunde*, August.
- PUBLIC LIBRARIES.** The Bodleian Library at Oxford. By Hon. H. A. L. Degener. Illus. *Zeitschrift für Bucherfreunde*, July.
- POTTERY AND PORCELAIN.** Syntax china, continued. Illus. *Old China*, July.
- Silver Lustre. Part II, Resist and Painted Ware. By W. T. Lawrence and H. C. Lawlor. Illus. *Connoisseur*, July.
- Welsh Porcelains genuine and spurious. By William Turner. Illus. *Burlington*, July.
- SHAKESPEARE.** Was Kronborg at Elsinore the home and fortress of Hamlet the Dane? Illus. Shakespeare's Antony and Cleopatra, and Its Stage history, by R. L. Ashhurst. *New Shakespeareana*, July.



Leon Gruel announces the publication of the second volume of his *Manual Historique et Bibliographique de l'Amateur de Reliures*, of which the first volume was issued in Paris in 1887. It has been considered one of the best works on bookbinding extant, and the announcement of the new volume is welcome. Seven hundred copies, on three kinds of paper, are printed, in a large quarto with seventy-five colored and heliogravure plates.

Houghton, Mifflin & Co. have published a much-needed new edition of Hawthorne's complete works. The Old Manse edition consists of twenty-two volumes of comfortable 12mo. size and clear type, illustrated with many photogravures by American artists. In the

edition are included a number of tales and sketches, letters, and diary selections which have not appeared in the earlier collected editions.

The Village Press, which was established a year or so ago in Park Ridge, Illinois, has been moved by its owners, Fred. W. and Bertha M. Goudy, to Hingham, Massachusetts, where it will be continued under the same name. The Goudys have designed their own very good font, the Village type, and the decorations are also their own designs. Their books are printed on a hand-press, and are individual work, even to the bindings.

To their reprints of Morris's essay on Printing and Rossetti's *Blessed Damsel*, they have

recently added a reprint, on Japan paper, of the first edition of Lamb's *Dissertation upon Roast Pig*, prefaced with an essay by Cyrus Lauron Hooper, on Lamb's Literary Motive. It is a very dainty and exceedingly well printed small sixteen-mo, with pleasing borders and initials. Two hundred and fifteen copies form the edition.

Reprints of the *Ninety-First Psalm*, William Morris's *The Hollow Land*, Charles W. Eliot's *Emerson as Seer*, and Browning's *Rabbi Ben Ezra*, are announced as in preparation.

A poem-drama by Arthur Upson, the young Minnesota poet, is announced for immediate publication by Small, Maynard & Company in America, and Oliver & Boyd at Edinburgh. Mr. Upson has found his subject, says Count Lützow in an introduction, "in the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius, who tells us that Uchomo, surnamed Abgar, King of Edessa, sent a message to Jesus, at Jerusalem, begging him to visit him and cure him of his disease. The story . . . is little known even to professed students." The title of the poem is *The City*.

W. H. Gocher, of Hartford, Connecticut, has written a history of the famous Charter Oak and of Captain Josiah Wadsworth whose name is so closely connected with the Connecticut Charter and all the turmoils that its preservation caused. Every bit of early Connecticut history and legend surrounding the subject has been carefully compiled, and the resulting volume, *Wadsworth, or the Charter Oak*, is published by the author this month.

The Philobiblon Club of Philadelphia, of which Governor Pennypacker of Pennsylvania is president, has issued as its second publication a reprint of *A Fragment of the Chronicles of Nathan Ben Saddi, a Rabbi of the Jews*, purporting to have been discovered in the ruins of Herculaneum and published at Constantinople. It is a little pamphlet of unknown authorship, printed by James Chattin at Philadelphia in 1758, and is a satire on a local government squabble in Chester County, Pa. The Library Company of Philadelphia has two copies of the original pamphlet, but no others are recorded as still in existence. The facsimile is made by three-color half-tone process, and is prefaced at some length by Governor Pennypacker.

A posthumous work by the late Laurence Hutton is issued by G. P. Putnam's Sons. It is a series of *Talks in a Library*, edited (with the author's approval) by Miss Isabel Moore. Professor John H. Finley contributes an introduction.

Alfred Henry Stroh, of Bryn Athyn, Pa., is compiling a calendar of the manuscripts and

literary remains of Emanuel Swedenborg, and is anxious to be placed in touch with any Swedenborg material in American libraries, private and public. Particularly he desires to locate an almanac for the year 1750 which he learns was brought to America about 1870 by a Swedish gentleman, who took it to Chicago. Some of our collectors should know something of this.

The Louisiana State Commission has had compiled for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, a list of *Louisiana Writers, Native and Resident, including others whose books belong to a Bibliography of that State*. Thomas P. Thompson is the compiler of the list, which is purely a suggestive one, mainly of use to the student who is willing to carry on his bibliographical researches with this pamphlet for index.

The list is an alphabetical catalogue of authors, with the title, date, and sometimes place of publication of one or more of his works. There is an occasional brief annotation, but for the most part the reader can only conjecture whether the author is a "native," a "sometime resident," or one of the "others whose books belong to a bibliography of that state." The list occupies over fifty pages, and is followed by a list of Louisiana artists, arranged chronologically by dates which are "approximate to their greatest activity."

A new factor in the New York book auction field is the Merwin-Clayton Sales Company, which has just been organized to conduct auction sales of literary property at 20-24 East 20th street. A stock company has been formed, of which Andrew Merwin, George H. Clayton, and Richard Cogan are the officers. Mr. Merwin has been known for forty years as the auctioneer for the old firm of Bangs & Co. and its predecessor, Bangs, Merwin & Co. Mr. Clayton, who is business manager, was also with the old firms for forty years, and Mr. Cogan for nearly as long, and the new company expect to carry on the best traditions of the old house.

The first autumn book sale of importance will be the second Hurst sale at Anderson's in October, when Bishop Hurst's Americana will be dispersed. Works on the American Indians form a special section of this collection, perhaps the most important being the rare Mohawk Prayer Book, *Ne Orhoengene Neoni Yogaraskhagh Yondereanayendaghkwa*, printed by William Bradford at New York in 1715. This has not appeared at auction since the Murphy sale in 1884, when a copy sold for one hundred and twelve dollars. The present fine example, in a Zaehnsdorff binding, is ex-

pected to bring at least three times that much.

Anderson's first sale will be a three-days' miscellaneous sale of books, September 27-29.

Mr. Ernest Quentin-Bauchart has collected into a quarto volume a series of his papers in the *Bulletin du Bibliophile* and other periodicals. They include such subjects as "A travers mes Livres," "Femmes Bibliophiles," and "Livres de Marie Antoinette," and are now published by Leclerc, Paris, under the title *Melanges Bibliographique, 1895-1903*.

Dr. Claes Annerstedt, for twenty-one years librarian of Upsala University, has just retired from that important position. The modern library of Upsala owes its whole system to Dr. Annerstedt, in whose administration it has been entirely reclassified and catalogued, and the rich collections made available to students. A history of the Library down to 1702 stands also to his credit, and he will now doubtless have leisure to produce the second volume of his *Upsala Universitets Historia*, of which the first volume, with an appendix volume of documents, appeared in 1877.

The *Catalogo Generale della Libreria Italiana, 1847-1889*, has reached nearly the end of the letter R, with the publication of the fourth and fifth parts of volume three, which have just appeared. Leimcke and Buechner, Milan and New York, are the publishers.

The Imperial Japanese Commission to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition has issued a portly volume of 828 pages clad in silk, printed in English, and bearing the title *Japan at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century*. It is full of statistics of all sorts concerning the Island Empire, and the information is exact and up to date. The English has a decided Japanese accent, which does not detract from its value as a reference work.

No better known or broader-minded collector has ever bettered New York by his presence than Samuel Putnam Avery, who died Aug. 12, at the age of eighty-two years. He was long at the front of art matters by virtue of his position as foremost picture seller and of his knowledge and good taste in all things pertaining to the art that was his passion as well as his business.

The Vanderbilt collection of pictures, of most of which the Metropolitan Museum of Art is in possession by a sort of ninety-nine years' loan, represents the sound artistic judgment of Mr. Avery, supported by the sound financial strength of W. H. Vanderbilt. Mr. Vanderbilt acted wisely when he left it to Mr. Avery to build him up a collection of paintings that would outlive the day's fashions and prove good for all time.

Mr. Avery's own collections were also extensive, and his care was always that others should profit by his possessions. The print department at the Lenox Library is an enduring monument to the man, his forty-years' collection of nineteenth-century etchings forming the foundation of a strong department.

When his son, a promising young architect, died, Mr. Avery's grief expressed itself most nobly in the collection of a remarkable architectural library, which he catalogued himself and presented to Columbia University, where its value to students grows greater every year. By these collections and the smaller ones to which institutions in many places are indebted to him, Mr. Avery's name will be kept in living remembrance.

The Macmillan Company will soon issue a biography of Thomas Nast, written for them by Albert Bigelow Paine.

The Vatican Library has announced its intention of publishing facsimiles of the Petrarch manuscripts in its possession—those either written by the poet, or annotated by him. The Petrarch Congress recently held at Arezzo is to have its many valuable papers perpetuated by the publication of its Proceedings.

A committee of English bibliographers, consisting of the Earl of Crawford, chairman; and A. W. Pollard, H. R. Tedder, R. S. Faber, G. K. Fortesque, F. Jenkinson, G. F. Barwick and F. W. Bourdillon, has been put in charge of the proposed memorial to Robert Proctor. This memorial is to be a volume of Proctor's bibliographical essays and papers, collected and published with a memoir; while the committee proposes also to prepare for the press the three remaining sections of his *Index of Early Printed Books*. These comprise books printed in Italy, France and elsewhere between 1501 and 1520. The expense of this work is estimated at £500, while the volume of his essays will cost about one hundred pounds to produce. Donations are being received, as well as subscriptions extending over four years. The subscription to the memorial volume will be one pound, and subscribers will obtain the volumes of the *Index* at reduced rates.

The *Annual Index to Periodicals* which Mr. W. T. Stead has published for thirteen years in connection with the *English Review of Reviews* is now to be discontinued, as the publisher has lost in it about £5,000 and cannot see his way clear to keep it up. By librarians it has been highly appreciated and used to the greatest advantage; but the number of subscribers has not been sufficient for its maintenance. This is a very great pity, as it is a fine bibliographical tool.

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Columbus Gallery. The "Discoverer of the New World," as Represented in Portraits, Monuments, Statues, Medals and Paintings, with Historical Descriptions by N. Ponce De Leon; preface by Judge Charles P. Daly. 96 plates, 4to, cl, gt, 184 pp. N. Y., 1893. (\$2.50). a .65

The plates are reproduced from scarce paintings and engravings, the descriptive text, by Mr. Ponce De Leon, is of the greatest interest, including many facts and anecdotes not found in the biographies.

The Complete Writings of Christopher Columbus, Descriptive of the Discovery of America. Edited by Paul Leicester Ford (author of Hon. Peter Stirling, etc.). 16mo, cl. N. Y., 1892. a .75

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Diary and Letters of His Excellency Thomas Hutchinson, Captain-General and Governor of Massachusetts Bay, with an account of his administration when he was member and speaker of the House of Representatives, and his government of the Colony during the difficult period before the War for Independence, together with His Diary and Letters. Compiled by P. O. Hutchinson. Portraits, 2 vols, 8vo, cl, 1,096 pp. Lond., 1883-86. (£1 12s). 5.00

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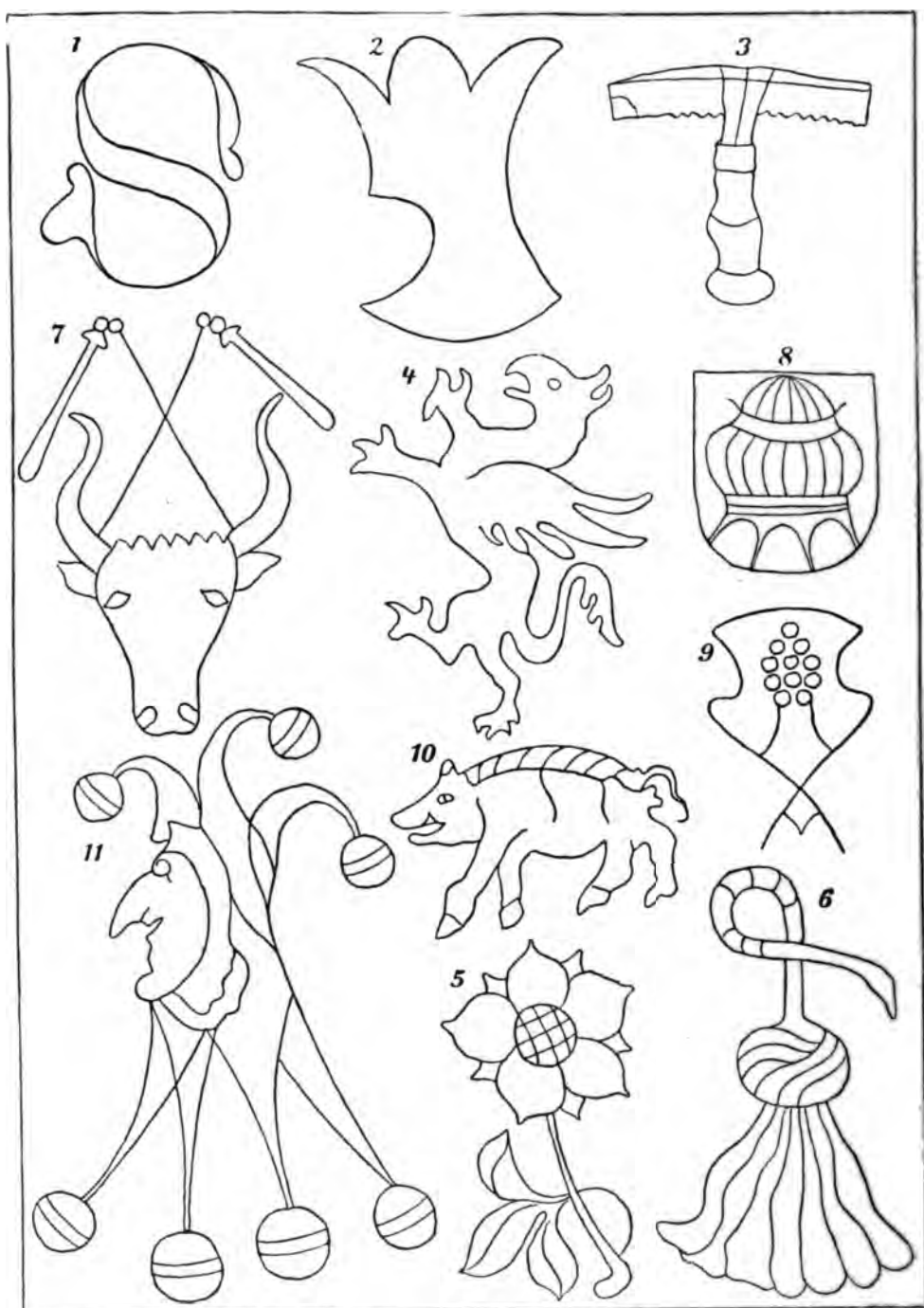
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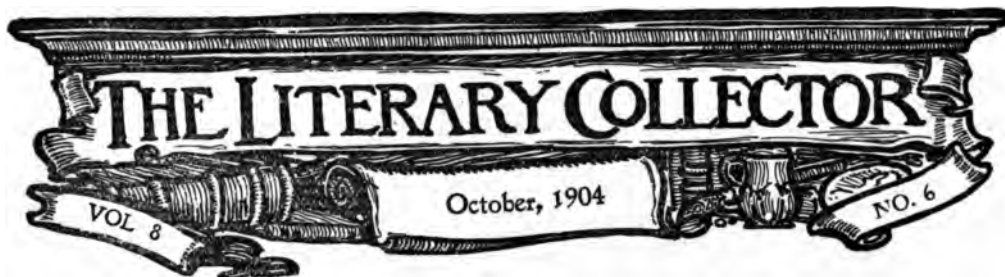
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FIFTEENTH CENTURY WATER-MARKS.



THE EARLIEST WATER-MARKS

BY

FRIEDRICH KEINZ

THE papyrus of the Egyptians, as well as the parchment, the most important writing-materials of the ancient times, had gone out of use in the tenth century after Christ. After a struggle of nearly two hundred years they had to give way to a modern material, manufactured of vegetable fibres and having the advantage of being cheaper and more serviceable. As early as 751, the Arabians had learned and appropriated this process from some Chinamen who lived in Samarcand. In 794, they established the first imperial paper-factory in Bagdad and propagated this new industry throughout their country. They became so expert that they were able to manufacture the most varied kinds of paper, from the largest and heaviest writing-paper for records and archives, to the very thin sheets required by the carrier-pigeon-post, organized by the government of the

Califate in Bagdad. The raw vegetable fibres were soon replaced by hemp-fibres, obtained by crushing the waste of the texture. For three centuries they were apparently the monopolists of this industry.

In the West, with the exception of Spain, then governed by the Arabs, we first hear of this industry in France, not earlier than the middle of the twelfth century. Peter of Cluny mentions paper-making as a well-known process. As no specimens of the industry are to be traced to France, we are led to believe that he saw it first in Italy. Here the industry was probably developed in the twelfth century, as we have tangible proofs of its existence at the beginning of the thirteenth; as, for instance, the manuscript of Niketas, of the year 1214, in the Turin library, and the diary of the famous arch-deacon, Albertus Bohemus, the quarrelsome

champion of the Pope's rights against the emperor Frederick XI, in the Royal Library of Munich. Both these manuscripts are on paper. We may take it for granted that we have here to do with genuine, home-made products and not with Oriental ones; for we learn from Karabacek, in the information he gives about the Arabian writer Sachawi, who died in 1245, that in Sachawi's time French paper, (which means Italian) was used in Egypt and was, consequently, a rival of the Oriental product in its very home. At the end of the thirteenth century, paper was also manufactured in Fabriano, near Bologna; according to Zonghi the first authentic record of a paper-mill in that place dates from 1276. In Fabriano and the near-by towns twenty-two paper-mills were registered by the notary-public about the year 1320, and in Bologna and Cividale 1293 paper-mills are recorded.

The common early paper of the Orientals had many disagreeable qualities. It was usually so strong that it seemed like parchment; but it was often of a yellowish color, running into brown, and more or less water-stained; often enough it had also a cloudy appearance, besides being brittle and fibrous at the edges. These qualities, in addition to the soft texture of the paper, must have been the origin of the customary appellation, *carta bombycina*—cotton paper—of the incorrectness of which I will say a few words. The careful chemical experiments on Oriental and European cotton-papers, made by

such authorities as Wiesner, Karabacek and Briquet, have proved that there never existed any paper made of cotton fibres. The name may have been given only for the sake of a better sounding name than "rags" or "waste." Karabacek has also thought it possible that the name was derived from the town Bambake in Syria, one of the foremost places where paper was manufactured. The term *carta bambacina* often occurred in olden times.

Similar qualities as in the Oriental papers we find in those of Italy of the thirteenth century. About the end of this or the beginning of the next century, the Italians invented a process by which these disadvantages were avoided. By careful selection and preparation of the fibres and, first of all, by improved sizing they succeeded in manufacturing a paper that, though thinner, was equally strong and firm, and the cloudy appearance they replaced by an even and lighter color.

About the same time the Italians introduced an innovation by stamping the paper with a mark, the so-called *Wasserzeichen*, or water-mark.

The scoop-form used by the Orientals, on which the liquid fibres, after the draining of the water, formed themselves into a sheet of paper, was a firm square frame, on which many longitudinal threads or wires and a few supporting cross-threads, the first called ribs, the others bridges, formed the foundation on which the process was accomplished. Both kinds of threads were impressed on the paper

as light lines which, according to the thickness and density of the paper, varied in clearness and distinctness. Often enough they were indiscernable. On these cross-bars the new water-mark appeared. It was made of thin wire and showed the outlines of a figure which, like the cross-bars, appeared in light lines on the sheet of paper. This figure was secured by slender threads, or, if the ribs were of metal, by soldering. Both ways are here and there discernable in the impression. The Latin nations called the mark *filigrane*, because it was made of wire; why the Germans and English called it *Wasserzeichen* or water-mark we have not yet discovered. At once its use became so general that paper without a water-mark was rare; but the Orientals never adopted it.

As the manufacture of paper improved, the making up of the scoop-form had to undergo a course of apprenticeship. Only by slow degrees the ribs and bridges attained to perfect uniformity and regularity. The earlier papers, up to the fourteenth century, are still very defective. The lines, or laid marks, are neither even nor straight, and the spaces between the bridges are unequal. Only in the course of the fourteenth century the best proportions and the necessary symmetry were reached by slow degrees. Still greater difficulties had to be overcome in water-marks. These marks were not drawn in regular outlines; they were pictures of the most varied kinds, whose representation required a skill which then scarcely existed. Therefore many figures, as

for instance, the mermaid, the old one-headed imperial eagle, and all kinds of animals, are clumsily drawn. By and by these workers became experts. Even in the fourteenth century, and still more in the incunabular-time, (the era of the origin of the art of printing,) we find very pretty representations. In the sixteenth century drawings of coats of arms came more and more into use; and these exhibit figures which prove that the artist had superseded the artisan.

In examining the homogeneity of several marks of the same factory, we have first of all the similarity of drawing to consider. Small variations must not lead us to suppose a difference in origin; it is altogether sufficient if the character and the general proportions coincide. The use of different scoop-forms will account for slight differences. Because of the frailness of the material (thin wire) slight shiftings are possible, as will often be noticed in codexes having the same mark in many copies; breaks also occurred so that the marks had to be repaired and could never be perfectly even. Besides, it must be borne in mind that the same marks were used for a number of years (Kirchner says 25 years.) One form did not last more than two years; it had then to be replaced by a new one made under the same difficulties as the previous one.

Such a great variety of figures appeared in the first water-marks that it is hard or almost impossible to classify them systematically. Classification according to subject is the only

practicable method. This I have used in my collection covering the fourteenth century; it would also be suitable for more extensive collections, unless the division into periods would here be preferable; for this purpose the incunabulum-period would give the starting point. My division into subjects is as follows:

1.—The linear-mark, that is, connection of the line or bar with the circle, the little crown, the half-moon or star, the two last named often occurring minus the bar; and the triangle, cross, wheel, three mountains. 2 a—Man and his works, i. e., human and semi-human forms, and parts, as the head or hand; b—Letters; c—Architectural ornaments; d—Tools, implements, utensils; e—Weapons. 3—Domestic, wild and legendary animals, especially mammals and birds, but also a few others as fish, crabs, and scorpions. 4.—Plants, flowers, fruits, leaves. These chief divisions were later on followed by a number of armorial ensigns (escutcheons) of places where paper-mills were at work, or of proprietors who either owned paper-mills or controlled their work. Altogether independent from these escutcheons were the marks which appeared within a circle and which were introduced in Italy in the beginning of the fourteenth century.

The number of these marks, especially those representing domestic and wild animals, was still increased by attachments added to the chief figure. First of all, the bull's head appeared with such attachments. This mark is already found in 1310 in Fabriano;

it remained in use for three hundred years and with attachments appears in a hundred and fifty variations. In the fourteenth century these attachments are small and insignificant; in the fifteenth century, (mostly those coming from Germany,) they become very large. These attached figures, reaching a height of 18 mm., are either plain crosses, crosses with twining snakes, or poles with flowers or triangles dangling from the snout of the bull's head.

As regarded the position of the mark the manufacturers were at first undecided. It would sometimes appear in the middle of the full sheet, that is, in the very place where it was folded. We know of only one case where each half-sheet has the chief-mark; in many cases the left half-sheet has the chief-mark and on the other half is a small, inferior mark; sometimes the chief-mark is in the middle of a half-sheet, and in either the upper or lower corner is a small inferior mark. Soon the custom prevailed to put one mark in the middle of a half-sheet. Now and then inferior marks occur, but these are exceptions.

Of the purpose of these marks, we find nowhere any information. We may take it for granted that the factories used them as trade-marks. This is proved by their history. They first appeared at the end of the thirteenth century. The oldest mark we know is of the year 1285. Two decades later a few manufacturers in such famous cities as Fabriano did not consider these marks sufficient

and instead of them they stamped their papers with their full names, as Zuzu G., Andruzo A., Zovanni G. This custom, at first adopted by about twenty manufacturers, proved too inconvenient, and was soon dropped, and did not re-appear until the sixteenth century. As reminder of it we meet here and there with initials. The paper soon came to take its name from these marks and initials, and we hear of Bell, Crown, Bull's head, or Fool's cap paper. This again caused imitations, and litigations at once arose concerning the right to use this or that mark, which then had to be guaranteed by privileges. Neither the writer, nor the book-binder, nor printer seems at that day to have taken any notice of these marks, and we find no contemporary mention of them. Only in modern times have scholars thought them important enough to make them the subjects of research. In the third part of the last century a few dilettanti, in examining literary and typographical subjects, also discussed these marks; then a few were collected and classified from various points of view. Within the past few decades some system has been introduced, and the marks have been classified by subject, or period, or according to the places where they were manufactured. The time and place of each mark has been determined, then the duration of its use, and often its exact origin could be stated. Much has been done in this respect, but still more detailed investigation remains to be done.

Such studies serve several useful

purposes. A close examination of the mark gives us a clue to the provenance and history of the paper. The pictures used as marks are of value to the history of sociology; often representing weapons, utensils and tools that we cannot find elsewhere. Among the pictures are many the originals of which are entirely unknown; and it is hard to guess where to place and how to catalogue them.

The greatest advantage of such study is that by means of these marks we are able to determine the age of undated manuscripts. This becomes a comparatively easy task if several marks of the same period occur, but even in such cases scholars will hesitate. One of them asked me once most seriously, if I thought that the German monasteries had laid in a supply of paper for only a few months. Thus the subject has to be considered also from this point of view.

At the period under discussion, that is the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the commerce of the cities of Italy and those of the Hansa (the union of commercial cities all over Europe) was most flourishing. The transit of goods from one city to the other, from one country to the other, was carried on without interruption and with such rapidity and regularity that each town was easily supplied with the necessary goods. There was therefore no reason for wholesale purchases, even of paper, as a new supply could easily be had within a short time. It may have happened that one mark which in Italy had long since been replaced by a new one, was

still in use in Germany. Minor differences in time are of no consequence; this we can prove by the material we have collected. There may have been cases where paper had been stored away in some place, perhaps for some codex never finished, and later on been put to other use. One of the best authorities in this branch of the subject has treated it in a very detailed and instructive way in *Sur la valeur des filigranes du papier comme moyen de déterminer l'âge et la provenance des documents non datés*, printed in the *Bulletin de la soc. d'hist. et d'archeol. de Genève* 1, 2. As soon as the German paper industry developed and supplied the domestic markets, wholesale purchases became still less necessary.

Only the imitation of marks may give rise to perplexities. These imitations were always made a little later, in point of time, than their originals and they are soon recognized when we come to examine the details. Nor have we any reason to believe that wholesale purchases influenced the chronology of the marks. In examining records this pretext is of no consideration at all, because time and place are given here or are to be inferred from the contents.

The essays and other writings concerning water-marks run up to at least fifty. Briquet in his treatise *Les papiers et de la papétrie de Gênes*, (in *Atti della Soc. Ligure di storia patria*, 1887,) mentions thirty-one treatises on this subject. Many of these are without value. As it would take too much space to name them

all I refer to Briquet's essay just mentioned and its continuation in *Revue des Bibliothèques*, 1894. I will cite only the best treatises for each country.

In Italy, which up to the incunable time almost monopolized the market, we have the scholar, Zonghi, who gives us full details about water-marks, though without any illustrations. His books are: *Le Marchi principali delle carte fabrianesi*, Fabr. 1881, and *Le antiche carte fabrianesi*, etc., Fano 1885. In Genoa, C. M. Briquet did excellent work in his *Les papiers des archives de Gênes*. For Venice, Urbani has furnished us with excellent material in his *Segni di cartiere antiche*, 1870, of which we wish there were more.

For France the chief work is still Midoux and Matton's *Etudes sur les filigranes. . . en France aux XIV and XV^e siècle*.

In England we have (only for the incunable period) Sotheby's *The Typography of the Fifteenth Century*, London, 1845.

In the kingdom of old Poland, Fr. Piekosinski made researches in regard to the water-marks of the fourteenth century in the archives and libraries, and published the results under the title *Srednowieczneznakiwodne*, etc., Krakau, 1893.

In Russia, N. P. Lichatshev treated this subject in *The paper and the paper-mills in the Muskovy Empire*, in the Reports of the Imperial Archeological Society, 1892, in the Russian language. For the olden times it follows Briquet, but for modern times it gives

interesting dates in regard to the history of paper and its marks. We also learn through Lichatschev that he was not the first Russian who treated this subject. He mentions two large collections, one by Laptiev, in 1824, and one by Trononin, in 1844, and a few inferior contributions of no value. None of these books is known in the West of Europe; at least, no mention has been made of them.

In Germany within the past few decades, several special treatises have appeared,—one on the marks of the papers of Strassburg, by G. Schmidt, 1877; of the papers of Silesia, by A. Rauter, 1866; of the Inkunabeln of the Royal Library in Hanover, by E. Bodeman, 1866; and of the papers of the Archives of Frankfort of the fourteenth century, by M. E. Kirchner, in 1893; these are the work of experts. They are followed by a dissertation of the writer, about the water-marks in some manuscripts of the same century. This collection of marks is kept in the Royal State-Library in Munich. They originated in various countries in Europe, but first of all, in old Bavaria.

In the dissertation mentioned above, the water-marks of the fourteenth century have been thoroughly discussed. As the marks of this century run up to hundreds, those of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries run up into the thousands. A few illustrations have been chosen from folio manuscripts and Incunabula for this paper, of which I have appended the following descriptions:

1. The letter S.—Taken from a

deed of the count Leuchtenberg, of the year 1400, in the Royal Archive in Munich.

2. Helmet.—From a manuscript of the year 1443 once belonging to the Chapter St. Emeram in Regensburg. Briquet has found the same work in Vicenza; it may be that of his native town.

3. Currycomb.—From a manuscript of the year 1469 in Munich, but coming from Bologna. The same mark is found in Incunabula by P. Schaeffer in Mainz, 1473, and John Zainer in Ulm, 1474.

4. Griffin—This mark, probably originating in Fabriano, was much used in the fourteenth century. Briquet finds it in many places, in a quite large design, during the period from 1352 to 1410. In the form we reproduce, it appears in Italian Incunabula from 1471 to '76.

5. Flower (Anemone?)—In Incunabula of the printers Keolhoff (1487) and Schuiren (1488) in Cologne.

6. Tassel—In an incunable of H. Quentell in Cologne, 1476.

7. Bull's head with flails.—An illustration of the attachments to the chief-mark. This specimen I have found only once, in a manuscript from South-Germany, of the sixteenth century.

8. Salt-box on tre-mounts—In South-Germany, especially in Alt-Bavaria, this was used during the whole sixteenth century. As one of the most famous patrician families, the Poetschners in Munich, have this mark in their coat-of-arms, it is to be

supposed that the mill manufacturing this paper was either their property, or was near Munich. Somewhat larger and without the tre-mounts and border I have found the same mark in a manuscript of the year 1492, in the monastery Andechs.

9. The sweet pine-tree—The sweet pine-tree from the escutcheon of the city of Augsburg appears with several variations in papers of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, which were manufactured in papermills round Augsburg and in the city.

10. Wild Boar—This mark, found in the escutcheon of the town

Schweidnitz of Silesia, is seen in several specimens of the sixteenth century; according to Tromonin it was also known in Silesia and in Russia. An example is found in Munich, in writings in the collection of Camerarius.

11. Merry Andrew (Harlequin)—This mark, also called "La Folie" is found in many specimens and in various sizes in papers of the end of the sixteenth and the seventeenth century in Holland and on the Lower Rhine, also in Russia, as stated by Tromonin. Holland is probably the home of this mark.

[Translated for The Literary Collector.]



THOREAU

THE GREAT TRANSCENDENTALIST

BY GEORGE F. CARTER

ONCE upon being asked whether I read Thoreau for pleasure or instruction I answered, too hastily, that I read for instruction. It would have been nearer the truth, however, to have said "for both." Thoreau's writings so abound with subtle thought, with the clear annunciation of sterling principles, and there is such a wealth of knowledge imparted in the realm of natural history, while he has ever employed such beauty of language, such felicity of expression and such inimitable descriptive power, that whether we read for pleasure or instruction we are equally sure to gather both.

There is not anything very new that can be said at this time concerning Thoreau. He who was once so unappreciated is slowly taking his rightful place in the Hall of Fame; yet no apology is needed, I think, for even the humblest effort to add to the number of his admirers.

In Henry David Thoreau we have indeed a dreamer, who took all the universe for his province; it mattered little that his actual world was bounded by a most limited periphery with Concord as its hub. A dreamer he must indeed seem to all that vast throng whose ambitions in this life are limited by the metes and bounds

of material prosperity; and yet assuredly no man in Concord worked harder or with more definite aims than Thoreau.

In the rather meagre biography of the man there is but one vaguely told story of his heart having been stirred by a love for woman,—a woman who stirred the heart of his brother as well as his own. As the story runs, Henry withdrew all his own claims, declining to be his brother's rival.

In one of the finest poems he wrote, "Sympathy," which begins:

"Lately, alas! I knew a gentle boy"
it has been conjectured that the "gentle boy" was the gentle girl who had captured the hearts of the brothers Thoreau. She does not seem, however, to have returned the love of either, for after the death of John Thoreau in 1842 she married a clergyman.

In nature, however, Thoreau found a mistress in whose favor he feared no rival, and he wooed her with an ardor and fidelity that few women can claim to have received. Like a true lover it was necessary that he should sing the story of his love, that through his song others might be won more surely to the charms of his fair mistress.

His charm of style is great and his mastery of simple, beautiful English is complete. He is a vivid word-colorist and the lines of his mental pictures are drawn with unerring faithfulness. Every leaf, every grassy sedge, every tint of sky and field and bird and flower are limned in with the utmost minuteness.

He hears the song of a sparrow in the springtime and is impelled to say:

"I saw the world through a glass as it lies eternally. It reminded me of many a summer sunset, of many miles of gray rails, of many a rambling pasture, of the farm house far in the fields, its milk-pans and well-sweep, and the cows coming home at twilight." What wielder of the brush can paint for us such a picture as is here drawn in less than a dozen lines? At another time he says, with minute observation, of the same sparrow, "The end of its strain is like the ring of a small piece of wire on an anvil."

Judged by the ordinary standards that men apply, Thoreau's life seemed, especially to most of his contemporaries, singularly purposeless. All his peculiarities of temperament were singled out for criticism, and his own aims and his estimate of the value of this life and its co-relation to the world at large were passed in review by men who were simply unable to take his measure. Weighed in the balance they were accustomed to use, they found him sadly lacking.

At the time of his death the creative powers of his mind had found expression in but two books. The *Week* was practically unknown, over seven

hundred copies of the thousand-volume edition being stored in his attic. *Walden* had had a somewhat larger sale, but unquestionably the majority of its readers laid it aside with the conviction that it was a fairly interesting book written by a crank who, for no better reason than that he was one, had spent two years of hermit life by the shore of Walden pond. They set it down as but another fruitage of the crop of transcendentalism. Thoreau was cynically indifferent as to whether his motives were understood or not. He went into the woods for reasons that seemed sufficient to himself and he came out "for as good a reason as I went there."

After his death his scattered papers were collected, largely from the pages of magazines where they had long lain forgotten and, together with some of his letters, were published in a series of volumes. Later, under the editing of H. G. O. Blake, four volumes of extracts from his journals were given to the public. While these volumes of extracts are in many ways unsatisfactory and leave much to be desired, they nevertheless convey to us in some ways a clearer insight into the purposes and the mainspring of Thoreau's life than anything else to which we have access.

The eccentricities of the man have been unduly dilated upon and thrust forward into such prominence as to cast a cloud upon his fame which to this day has not been entirely dispelled. What we are pleased to term eccentricity is, however, more or less,

a question of the point of view and also, to a certain extent, of environment. In a small town like Concord many things excited comment that would have passed unnoticed in a large city. Moreover, no town of its size in the country occupied the same place in the public eye of the day as Concord did. With the large lens of public opinion so closely centred on it, all the celebrated actors on its little stage were necessarily subjected to a merciless analysis.

If a Western Reserve pedagogue could not understand why Henry David Thoreau, a Harvard College graduate, should waste his time roaming the banks of the Musketaquid or building a hut by a pond in the woods to make a book about eight years afterwards—well, so much the worse for Henry David Thoreau, and at least he, the pedagogue of the Western Reserve, had no time to spend on one who could so waste his opportunities. Indeed it is much to be feared that these money-getting countrymen of ours looked hard askance at a man to whom days were golden and money an all but valueless commodity, and that there was little common ground upon which they could meet a man who would rise at earliest dawn and walk several miles that he might perceive the phenomenon of the water lily buds unfolding as the first rays of the rising sun fell upon them, yet whose soul chafed at the time lost in surveying, lecturing, and other money-getting pursuits. In a letter to his friend Harrison Blake he says, "The lecturer gets fifty dol-

lars a night; but what becomes of his Winter? What consolation will it be hereafter to have fifty thousand dollars for living in the world. I should not like to exchange *any* of my life for money." He did so exchange but a very small portion, the debt he incurred for publishing his first book probably requiring a larger outlay than any other of his necessities.

On two occasions he abruptly broke off relations with magazine editors and recalled his half-published papers because the liberty had been taken, without consulting him, of blue penciling his manuscripts—"A privilege," Thoreau says, "California is not rich enough to bid for."

To those who knew him well he was a rare friend and it is not recorded, I believe, that his friendships, once formed, were ever broken. Few however were admitted to that inner circle. The steel had need first to be tried and to ring true to the utmost fibre. "Of all phenomena," he says, "my own race are the most mysterious and undiscoverable. For how many years have I striven to meet one, even, on common, manly ground, and have not succeeded!" This statement is not, of course, to be taken literally, for he rather uniformly overstated his paradoxes.

Mrs. Hawthorne, in a letter written to her sister, Mrs. Mann, late in the year 1848, while the Hawthornes were still at Salem, says of Thoreau, who had gone to Salem to lecture and was their guest: "Mr. Thoreau has risen above all his arrogance of manner and is as gentle, simple, ruddy and

meek as all geniuses should be." The Hawthornes had first met him when they went to Concord in 1843. Meanwhile Thoreau had gone into retreat at Walden pond. This event marked in many ways the turning point in his career. He began his hermitage with all his forces still gaining in virility but at the same time to some extent lacking in direction. Then, if ever, was some justness in the claim that he was but an imitator of Emerson. When we consider Thoreau's age, the standing to which Emerson had then attained, and the fact that Thoreau had been for two years an inmate of Emerson's home, we cease to wonder at the charge. Rather would it seem strange, despite Thoreau's intense individuality, had he not fallen in some degree under the sway of Emerson's intellect.

He went to Walden pond to be alone, to think, to clarify his senses. "Sometimes," he says, "in a summer morning, having taken my accustomed bath, I sat in my sunny doorway from sunrise till noon, rapt in a reverie, amidst the pines, and hickories, and sumachs, in undisturbed solitude and stillness, while the birds sang around or flitted noiseless through the house." Once, or even twice daily, as long as the weather permitted, he bathed in the lake. May we not fancy that in the crystal clearness of its waters he washed away much of the dross that still clogged his spirit?

Certain it is that he left his hut at Walden a changed man in more than one respect. The philosophical tone of his writings had become transfused

to a greater degree with his nature love. They became less rugged, lost somewhat of their cynical tone, became clarified and gained in simplicity. Also, as Mrs. Hawthorne has said, he lost some of his arrogance of manner. He returned to Concord a matured man fully prepared to teach his doctrine of truth and simplicity.

"Simplicity, simplicity, simplicity! I say, let your affairs be as two or three, and not a hundred or a thousand; instead of a million count half a dozen, and keep your accounts on your thumb nail. . . . Simplify, simplify. Instead of three meals a day, if it be necessary eat but one; instead of a hundred dishes, five; and reduce other things in proportion. . . . The nation itself, with all its so-called internal improvements, which, by the way, are all external and superficial, is just such an unwieldy and overgrown establishment, cluttered with furniture and tripped up by its own traps, ruined by luxury and heedless expense, by want of calculation and a worthy aim, as the million households in the land; and the only cure for it as for them is a rigid economy, a stern and more than Spartan simplicity of life and elevation of purpose." *Walden*, pp. 99-100.

As to truth he says: "Men esteem truth remote, in the outskirts of the system, behind the farthest star, before Adam and after the last man. In eternity there is indeed something true and sublime. But all these times and places and occasions are now and here. God himself culminates in the present moment, and will never be

more divine in the lapse of all the ages." *Walden*, p. 105.

It cannot be too often or too strongly stated that the life Thoreau lived at his Walden abode differed widely from the usually accepted idea of a hermit life. Nothing was further from his thoughts than to cast off all relations with his family, his friends, or the world in general. In fact he was almost daily at the village and with his family, and he had also many visitors at Walden who would trudge there in all seasons to see him.

Nevertheless it afforded him the opportunity to be much alone, with long spaces of silence in which to put his thoughts in order, as well as to put into shape for publication his first book, *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*.

Early in life he severed his connection with the Congregational Church at Concord, over which the venerable Dr. Ripley was pastor. He would neither be bound by the custom-made restrictions of Church, or State, or society, and refused to pay taxes either to the Church or the State. To one who questioned him as to his belief in the immortality of the soul and the conditions of a life hereafter, he replied: "Those were voluntaries I did not take." There can be no doubt that his outspoken views on church questions caused him to be looked upon with suspicion in ultra religious circles and in some cases led the publishers of the periodical literature of the day to take account of his heresies, even to the point of refusing to publish his contributions. It should

be hardly necessary to say that this was an entirely erroneous view, and one that even the most superficial acquaintance with either the man or his writings would fail to justify. No man could have lived a purer, more upright life, or have had a greater abhorrence of sin. But shackles of any sort he could not tolerate and he preferred to seek God in his own way and untrammelled. His reverence for the Creator constantly appears in his writings and he is ever thankful to him and deeply filled with appreciation of all the bounties vouchsafed to mankind in his earthly home. When in his last days he was asked if he had made his peace with God, he replied that he had "never quarreled with him."

There is a general impression that Thoreau was cold, hard and unsympathetic. As we have seen, he has been openly accused of arrogance of manner and Emerson says of him that he was with difficulty sweet. His published works all tend to strengthen this impression of his character, and after his death it was further augmented by a volume of his letters edited by Emerson. It was Emerson's wish to show this stoical side of Thoreau and he accordingly selected the letters to be printed with this end in view. The resulting volume was not at all satisfactory to Sophia Thoreau, who justly complained that the more humane side of her brother's life should have received recognition. To repair this lack of justice to Thoreau's really home-loving and kindly nature a second volume of his letters was published in 1894 under the direction of

Mr. F. B. Sanborn, who knew Thoreau well in the latter years of his life. Mr. Sanborn's notes are illuminating and he has added many new letters to the collection which Emerson edited. Unfortunately, Thoreau was so seldom away from Concord for more than a few days at a time that we have but very few letters written to his family.

In a letter written to his mother in 1843, while he was living as a tutor in Mr. William Emerson's family on Staten Island, he says: "Methinks I should be content to sit at the back door in Concord, under the poplar-tree, henceforth forever. Not that I am homesick at all,—for places are strangely indifferent to me,—but Concord is still a cynosure to my eyes, and I find it hard to attach it, even in imagination, to the rest of the globe, and tell where the seam is.

"I fancy this Sunday evening you are poring over some select book, almost transcendental perchance, or else 'Burgh's Dignity' or Massillon, or the 'Christian Examiner.' Father has just taken one more look at the garden, and is now absorbed in Chaptelle, or reading the newspaper quite abstractedly, only looking up occasionally over his spectacles to see how the rest are employed, and not to miss any newer news that may not be in his paper. Helen has slipped in for the fourth time to learn the very latest item. Sophia, I suppose, is at Bangor; but Aunt Louisa, without doubt, is just flitting away to some good meeting, to save the credit of you all." *Familiar Letters*, p. 118.

In another letter: "Pray, how does the garden thrive, and what improvements in the pencil line? I miss you all very much. Write soon, and send a Concord paper."

These are simple, homely letters, full of a loving interest in all that went on in the Concord household. The friends who knew him best praise in unstinted measure the home-loving trait in his character, Channing saying that "he was one of those characters who may be called 'household treasures,'" and that he allowed nothing to deprive those to whom he belonged of his love, his kindness and his help.

To the world at large, however, he was pleased to appear in far different guise, to show the stoical side of himself, full of biting sarcasm and grim humor, though he could also phrase these with the utmost delicacy of expression.

His abhorrence of cant and hypocrisy was unbounded. In his journal for 1853 he gives an account of a visit of several ultra reformers to Concord, and complains that they were much about his home. "They rubbed you constantly," he says, "with the greasy cheek of their kindness. I was awfully pestered with the benignity of one of them, feared I should get greased all over with it past restoration, tried to keep some starch in my clothes. He wrote a book called *A Kiss for a Blow*, and he behaved as if I had given him a blow, was bent on giving me the kiss when there was neither quarrel nor agreement between us. I wanted that he should straighten his

back, smooth out those ogling wrinkles of benignity about his eyes, and with a healthy reserve pronounce something in a downright manner. He addressed me as 'Henry' within one minute from the time I first laid eyes on him; and when I spoke, he said with drawling, sultry sympathy, 'Henry, I know all you would say, I understand you perfectly, you need not explain anything to me,' and to another, 'I am going to dive into Henry's inmost depths.' I said, 'I trust you will not strike your head against the bottom.' He could tell in a dark room, with his eyes blinded, if there was one there whom he loved. One of the most attractive things about the flowers is their beautiful reserve. The truly beautiful and noble puts its lover, as it were, at an infinite distance while it attracts him more strongly than ever." *Summer*, pp. 164-5. This is a blending of cutting sarcasm and most delicious and delicate humor.

Thoreau was far above all vanity of personal appearance and his usual attire was of the roughest, such as befitted his work of naturalist in the woods and swamps in all weathers, but this probably was not understood by his fellow villagers and he whimsically complains of the lack of respect shown him. "There is some advantage," he says, "in being the humblest, cheapest, least dignified man in the village, so that the very stable boys damn you. Methinks I enjoy that advantage to an unusual extent. There is many a coarsely well-meaning fellow, who knows only the skin of me,

who addresses me familiarly by my Christian name. I get the whole good of him and lose nothing myself."

Concord, where Thoreau was born and died and where he passed nearly his whole life, lies in a wide expanse of meadow land, rimmed round about with low, well wooded hills. The sluggish waters of the Concord or Musketaquid river and the swifter ones of its tributary, the Assabet, flow through the town, while in various directions, yet at short distance, are a number of small lakes of remarkably clear water. So well indeed is nature here diversified that it would not be easy to select a more suitable abode for one who was to appoint himself one of nature's closest inspectors. No natural phenomenon either of earth, or water, or sky went unobserved and unnoted by Thoreau. He was abroad early and late and in all conditions of weather, armed with note book, field glasses, a pocket microscope and a book for pressing plants. But as a rule his usual time for walking was in the afternoon, the morning being spent in pencil making or other pursuits. He rather jealously guarded his time, of which he considered he had none to spare, and would decline companionship on these walks, except to a few well tried companions, on the ground that he had no walks to waste.

The evidence of his industry is exhibited in his journals, of which there are some thirty bulky volumes. These were long in the possession of his friend, Harrison G. O. Blake, of Worcester, and after his death passed to a Mr. Russell of the same city. As al-

ready stated, four volumes of extracts from these journals were published by Mr. Blake and now, over forty years after the author's death, the balance are soon to be given to the world, the journals already being in the custody of the house that will publish them.

Undoubtedly, had Thoreau lived, he would himself have gone to this garnered store (as he had already twice done) for material for still other printed books. Everything was there set forth, from the first note of the blue-bird in the spring to the last fleeting, ephemeral coloring of a summer sunset—opinions, thoughts, facts, even poetry were all duly written down, all leisurely, carefully and in the beautiful English of which Thoreau was master.

Of a foggy June morning he says: "I am surprised to feel how warm the water is by contrast with the cold, foggy air. The dewy cobwebs are very thick this morning, little napkins of the fairies spread on the grass:" and again: "There is everywhere dew on the cobwebs, little gossamer veils or scarfs as big as your hand dropped from the shoulders of fairies that danced on the grass the past night."

Of the wood thrush, his favorite songster, I think, he writes: "The wood-thrush's is no opera music, it is not so much the composition as the strain, the tone that interests us, cool bars of melody from the atmosphere of everlasting morning or evening. It is the quality of the sound not the sequence. In the pewee's note there is some sultriness, but in the thrush's, though heard at noon, there is the

liquid coolness of things drawn from the bottom of springs. The thrush's alone declares the immortal wealth and vigor that is in the forest. Here is a bird in whose strain the story is told. Whenever a man hears it, he is young, and Nature is in her spring. Wherever he hears it, there is a new world and a free country, and the gates of heaven are not shut against him. Most other birds sing, from the level of my ordinary cheerful hours, a carol, but this bird never fails to speak to me out of an ether purer than that I breathe, of immortal vigor and beauty. He deepens the significance of all things seen in the light of his strain. He sings to make men take higher and truer views. He sings to amend their institutions, to relieve the slave on the plantation and the prisoner in his dungeon, the slave in the house of luxury and the prisoner of his own low thoughts." *Summer*, pp. 330-1.

But the limits of my space are far too short to allow more than the merest glimpse of the wealth of inimitable description of animate and inanimate nature that Thoreau affords us. It bars, as well, more than the merest mention of his philosophy, which when summed up was, I take it, to live a life of the utmost simplicity and truth; to find one's account of the pleasures of this world rather in nature than in the artificial structure that modern civilization has raised; to have no means nor aspirations; to place one's life on the highest level and to be so true to it as at the end to be able to say, as he did, "I have nothing to regret."

No finer tribute has been paid him than Ellery Channing's sad complaint to his dying friend:—"Solitude begins to peer out curiously from the dells and wood-roads." And though he

was cut off in the prime of life, with much of his life work left undone, unsaid, let us try to believe in the truth of Thoreau's whispered reply, "It is better that some things should end."



WADSWORTH OR THE CHARTER OAK. By W. H. Gocher. Hartford, Conn. Published by W. H. Gocher, 1904.

The history of early Connecticut is one of brave fighters, hard workers, staunch Puritans, whose first claim for distinction is attached to their famous Constitution, the eleven Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, passed by the inhabitants of Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield in 1638-9—"the first examples in history of a written constitution."

More widely known than the Fundamental Orders is the Charter of Connecticut, given by Charles II. to the colonists in 1662, after long efforts on their part to establish themselves under a government separate from that of Massachusetts. How that Charter was treasured by its possessors; how Connecticut colony resisted the attempts of the governments of New York and Massachusetts to annex its territory to their

own colonies; how James II. authorized Sir Edmund Andros, Governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony, to seize and annul the Connecticut Charter; and how in the midst of a council assembled by Andros at Sandford's Tavern in Hartford, the Charter, brought there to be surrendered into his hands, was spirited away and hid in the hollow heart of the great Wyllys oak till the baffled governor had departed—the school boy knows all these things till examination day is past, and some of them a long time after.

There is never an end, however, of throwing new light on old scenes. An enthusiast who starts out to study any period or incident of our history can usually find—so close are we still to our country's infancy—some records before overlooked, some footnotes to add to the whole. Not every one ferrets out such an interesting mass of old papers as did Mr. Gocher.

The Charter oak, and the man who stole the Charter from under the British Governor's nose, attracted him to make a search for side-lights on the life of Captain Joseph Wadsworth. He visited the Wadsworth Inn, standing on the western boundary of Hartford. Wadsworths have occupied the house since its building in 1820, and it has a typical New England garret. The present Wadsworth, at Mr. Gocher's inquiry, searched the garret and brought forth "a time-stained box made of inch pine boards fastened together with hand made nails." The family papers, accounts and letters stored within, went back well into the seventeenth century, and one parcel contained "the material from which the following sketches were written. Whether they are fact or fancy, and my impression is that there is a little of both, must remain in doubt until another discovery of a similar nature is made. Those who have read them are of the opinion that the material presented is the basis of the Wadsworth family legends, which have been handed down from one generation to another."

The sketches are apparently of Mr. Gocher's phrasing and modern spelling, but are in narrative form, as if written down by Captain Joseph Wadsworth, his old age, for his descendants. "Memories" are given of his father, William Wadsworth, one of the original planters; of Cromwell and his family; and of the Regicides, or King's Judges, Whalley and Goffe, two of the fifty-nine who signed the death warrant of Charles Stuart.

These fled to New England and were concealed by the colonists when the Stuart family came into power, and lived for years in the house of Wadsworth's brother-in-law at Hadley. From them he had his knowledge of Cromwell.

The story of the Charter Oak is told in the same first-hand way, Captain Wadsworth relating how he secreted himself at a window of the council room, having an outside stairway, and fled with the Charter when Andrew Leete, a foremost colonist, frenzied into an epileptic fit, fell across the table, thus extinguishing the lights.

The history of the colony up to this time finds place in the sketches, and the entire text of the Charter and the Constitution is included. Mr. Gocher *in persona propria* gives an outline of Captain Wadsworth's life, and reprints descriptions of the Oak from manuscripts and books, and poems written about it. There are also reproductions of old portraits, prints, and signatures. The interest of the book is undeniable. Its value would be enhanced by a statement from Mr. Gocher of how much of the part attributed to Joseph Wadsworth is really taken from his manuscripts, and how much has been up from other sources. Foot-note references corroborating the narrative are constantly given, but in this, the era of exact research, one wants to know which statements have the authority of one of the chief actors in the scene. It would seem that this might have been indicated without spoiling the narra-

tive, or at least the literal text of the more important papers have been given in an appendix. It is not too late for their separate publication.

The book is "Dedicated to The Wooden Nutmeg, the Symbol of the Land of Steady Habits," and is a four-hundred page octavo bound in blue cloth.

THE LIFE OF MICHELAGNOLO BUONARROTI.
Collected by Asconio Condivi da la Ripa
Transone.

Thus reads the title-page. The colophon relates that "Here ends the life of the divine Michelagnolo Buonarroti, written in Italian by Asconio Condivi, and first printed at Rome, on XVI July, MDLIII, by Antonio Blado, printer to the Camera, and now done into English by Herbert P. Horne, and newly printed at Boston in the United States of America, at the Merrymount Press, by Daniel Berkeley Updike, I September, MCMIII, with the types and ornaments designed for him by the translator."

Herbert P. Horne has made an admirable rendering of this life of Michelangelo, preserving but not exaggerating its sixteenth century simplicity and plainness of speech, and giving it an English phrasing of much charm and liveliness. Ascanio Condivi, a pupil of Michelangelo and his devoted follower, wrote this history in pursuance of an intention fixed from his first intercourse with his master, when, he says, "I set myself with all care and study to observe and gather together, not only the precepts that he gave me concerning his art, but his

sayings, doings and manners, and whatever else in his life seemed to me worthy either of being admired, imitated or praised, with the intention to write of it at some time." He made two collections of material, one relating to his art, one to his life; and, finding that some things had been published untruthfully concerning Michelangelo, and learning that his own material was about to be appropriated and published by one of whom he had made a confidant, Condivi hastily put together his biographical matter and sent it to the press; "affirming to have collected them with sincerity, and to have gathered them with alertness and long patience from the living oracle; and finally to have verified and confirmed them by the testimony of writings and men worthy of belief."

The Life was published when Michelangelo was in his seventy-ninth year, vigorous and still engaged in some active work under the patronage of Pope Julius III, to whom Condivi dedicates his book. In this flowing and sympathetic translation the centuries are eliminated and one comes close to the actual man who wrought his masterpieces in many arts at the command of a half dozen popes, supported by their patronage, goaded by their indifference, hurried from one task to another at their changing desires, accomplishing more than a dozen men, yet leaving the impression of power to have produced a dozen times as much more, had time and circumstances and the popes allowed.

Mr. Horne's care for this book did not end with putting it into English. He must express it in appropriate type, as well. The font he has designed has some Jensen characteristics, but a broader-shouldered effect. It is set very closely, with such slight spacing between words as to make it a bit trying, sometimes, to the eyes. The font "hangs together" well, but needs a little more room on the page. Possessing ornaments and red ink, Mr. Updike has shown an admirable temperance. The simple title-page, in tablet form, is pricked out in the smallest possible quantity of red, and a small red leaf marks the close of the book and the beginning and end of the colophon. That is all. A couple of good block initials confine themselves to black and white.

The press-work is as good as could be wished. The paper is a fine-laid hand-made, marked with a circle surrounding the letter M. Plain gray boards form a satisfactory binding for a book which it is pleasant to own, to read, and to praise.

THE ROYAL ACADEMY FROM REYNOLDS TO MILLAIS. Edited by Charles Holme. John Lane, New York, MCMIV.

The occasional monographs on art subjects published in connection with the *International Studio* are always worthy contributions to the story of Art. The present volume on the Royal Academy consists of an historical sketch of that institution by W. K. West, notes on the painters, sculptors, engravers and architects constituting

its membership, written by W. S. Sparrow, and a paper on the portraits of some leading Academicians, by T. Martin Wood.

There is a chronological list of associates and members from the foundation of the Academy in 1768 to 1868—the end of the century under discussion. An interesting feature is the insertion of fifteen facsimiles of autograph letters of famous Academicians, each on paper of appropriate size, though with no attempt to imitate that of the originals.

The pictures are of course the *raison d'être* of the book. Half a dozen photogravures, nine plates in colors and other special plates are devoted to examples of the most famous painters, and ninety members are represented by one or more half-tone reproductions, mostly full-page illustrations. These are partly drawn from the rich store of illustrations already used in the *Studio*, and while all are the work of Royal Academicians, they are by no means confined to pictures in the Academy itself. Some examples are in the British Museum or other English galleries, some are in private collections. The book thereby loses value as a guide-book to the Diploma Gallery at Burlington House, but it does serve to define the best work of the Academicians wherever it is to be found.

The historical narrative is well told by W. K. West. The birth of the Academy was a bold stroke of the secessionists in a quarrel which split the "Incorporated Society of Artists of Great Britain." A revolution in

that Society having overthrown the directors, those worthies stepped out, drew up an "Instrument" for the organization of a new society, obtained the sympathy and support of King George III, and "The Royal Academy of Arts in London" soon caused its older rival to retire from the field. Almost from the first it was housed rent free,—for fifty-seven years at Somerset House, then in the National Gallery building. The king kept it under his personal supervision and made up its annual arrears until its financial basis was established. It has never been amenable to Parliament, but its position as a royal charge gave it such a hold on the government that a Royal Commission in 1863 decided "that the Royal Academy have no legal, but that they have a moral claim to apartments at the public expense." Accordingly, in 1867 it was granted a 999-years' lease, at a "peppercorn rent," of Burlington House and a part of its gardens, and spent over £160,000 in adding to and refitting the buildings.

There has been of late—and probably always—much criticism of the methods and judgment of the Royal Academy, and of its treatment of contemporary artists. But there is no gainsaying the strength and in the long run the wisdom of this body of men, who have harmoniously and intelligently worked together for the furtherance of art, with no serious internal dissensions, for nearly one hundred and forty years, and bid fair to continue prospering for as long again.

SEMIRAMIS AND OTHER PLAYS. By Olive Tilford Dargan. Brentano's, New York, 1904.

The first book of an unknown writer, especially if it be poetry, and more especially if it be plays, must often meet with sort shrift at the hands of the reviewer. We are first attracted to this book by opening at *The Poet*, wherein we see the names *Poe*, *Virginia*. And here, the familiar words of Edgar Allen Poe's

Helen, thy beauty is to me

stand before us. This audacity rivets our attention on the rest of the book, and we do what the reviewer is never credited with doing—read it through.

To discover a new poet is a pleasant sensation. We do not think there is any question as to the genuineness of our "find." That Olive Tilford Dargan's *Semiramis and Other Plays* will some time be sought for in the first edition market is quite a safe prophecy,

It is, as a first edition of a first work ought to be, a modest duodecimo in sober boards. There are three plays, all with historical foundations. *Semiramis*, the first, is of that princess of Nineveh, whose memory is to us a rather formidable and war-like one, but who here lives before us in many-sided moods of filial devotion, exalted patriotism and overpowering love, a womanly woman, despite the part Fate has given her to play.

The second play, *Carlotta*, comes nearer home, telling the story of that noble-minded but unpractical tool of Louis Napoleon, Maximilian, the powerless Emperor of Mexico, and his Empress, Carlotta. *Semiramis* is written entirely in blank verse, as is

most of *Carlotta*, the speech of the common people lapsing here into prose, to take up the swing of the verse when the dignity of thought or character demands it. And the blank verse can soar. Its wings are strong. Both these plays move well, in action and in dialogue. In their essence they are character-plays, *Carlotta* in particular, though there is no lack of dramatic incident and opportunity for barbaric magnificence of scene and pageant.

The third play is undoubtedly beyond the others in form and expression. In it Mrs. Dargan makes use of a prose that is as poetic as her verse, and lays less emphasis on historic conventions, though she has studied the traditions of her subject to good effect. *The Poet* consists of scenes from the life of Poe, after his expulsion from West Point and his wanderings, desperate and in debt, in the Old World. The pathetic tragedy of his marriage, and the death of his child-wife, Virginia, hastened by starvation and cold, are told as they were never told before.

We cannot sketch the action here, and dramatic criticism is beyond our province, but we must record our debt to this young American woman, not much more than a girl and not long out of college, whose sympathies and perceptions and powers of dramatic and poetic expression have been equal to the task of making the enigmatic Poe more understandable than his biographers have ever done. This is wonderful portraiture. A smaller mind, possessed of a sympathy with

the poet's nobler side, might have slurred over the weakness and wildness that at times beset him, and have given us an unconvincing angel. Mrs. Dargan has not shirked the real problems of Poe's nature. She makes us understand his temptations and failures as well as those fine and generous qualities that balanced these and made him still a man to respect.

Her self-control and poise do not interfere with the abandonment with which she enters into the spirit of Poe's wild fancies, and expresses the interwoven genius and insanity that colored his thoughts and words. There are some scenes that take one's breath, some that call forth the tears. Our poet knows how to let herself go, and how to make us follow her. So fine an imagination is not often shown in our dramatic literature. The magnetism of her prose and the smoothness of her verse will make her popular, the high poetic qualities will commend her to the cultured. There is reason to believe that American literature is strengthened by a genuine poet of the highest dramatic quality. We shall look for her speedy recognition by the world of letters. Every one of her plays is playable, and they are needed. If we were not assured that this is her first book, we should be looking up her earlier writings. As it is, we will hope for more.

CLASSIFIED LIST OF CURRENT PERIODICALS; a Guide to the Selection of Magazine Literature. By James Duff Brown. The Library Association Series, No. 8. London, printed for the Library Association, 1904.

The original purpose of this list, which is published in a quarto

pamphlet of 32 pages, was "chiefly to serve as a catalogue for the Exhibition of Current Magazines held at Newcastle-upon-Tyne on 29th August—2d September, 1904, in connection with the Annual Meeting of the Library Association." It has permanent value as a guide to librarians and others in selecting the magazines on any subject—especially valuable to those who can see, at the Library Association's headquarters at London, examples of most of the world's current magazines. This sort of permanent exhibition of periodical literature will, it is hoped, be one of the features of the American Library Association's headquarters when it finally succeeds in establishing them.

"The List is restricted to current magazines on most of the leading subjects of human knowledge, but newspapers, and periodicals devoted solely to Sects, Politics, or Sport and minor trades and professions have been omitted." In spite of this restriction of the field, the entries number 769, classified systematically into 136 subjects. The compiler pleads for the indulgence due a pioneer, and offers the list as "under revision." We suggest that in his next edition *The Literary Collector* be transferred from the head of "Literary Criticism," which field it has no thought of cov-

ering, to that of "Bibliography," where it should stand as this country's sole representative. As an example of the style of the list and a memorandum for our readers, we reprint the titles under the heading of

BIBLIOGRAPHY, GENERAL.

- Allgemeine Buchhändlerzeitung. Leipzig. W.
- Amateur de livres. Paris. M.
- La Bibliofilia. Florence. M. 22 francs per ann.
- Bibliografia italiana. Milan. F.
- Bibliografia española. Madrid. F.
- Bibliographie Moderne. Paris. M.
- The Bookseller. M. 6d.
- Bulletin de l'Institut International de Bibliographie. Brussels.
- Dansk bogfortegnelse. Copenhagen. 6 times yearly.
- Journal général d'imprimerie et de la librairie. Paris. W.
- Polybiblion: Revue bibliographique universelle. Paris. M. 22s. per ann.
- The Publisher's Circular. W. 1½d.
- Revue bibliographique belge. Brussels. M. 4 francs 50 cents.
- Revue générale de Bibliographie Française. Paris. 6 times yearly.

Where no place of publication is mentioned, London is understood. W means weekly, F, fortnightly, and M, monthly.

With the exception of the finding-lists and "Union Lists" of periodicals issued by a few libraries and groups of libraries, Mr. Brown's compilation seems to be the first reference list of current periodicals to be published.



A NEW DÜRER PORTRAIT.

The National Gallery has recently purchased a portrait of Albert Dürer the elder, attributed to his son, the great Dürer. The August *Burlington Magazine* presents a photogravure of this very interesting portrait and C. J. Holmes contributes a description of it and arguments for and against its genuineness. He decides that the portrait is the genuine original of the two copies at Syon House and the Städel Institute, Frankfort (which are reproduced). He gives its probable history as follows:

"It was painted by Dürer in 1497, but for some reason or other it was not carried to a high degree of finish. After his death it remained in Nuremberg, and was copied carefully by the painter of the Frankfort version, and less skilfully by the painter of the Munich version, who forged an inscription and signature to match that on the portrait of Dürer himself now in the Prado. With the Prado picture it was presented (after some retouching) by Nuremberg to Charles I. Then the portrait was copied by Greenbury (if he was indeed the author of the Syon House version) and catalogued by Van der Doort. When the royal collection was dispersed the damaged condition of the picture was repaired by its new owner, who had it mounted on a sound panel, and retouched again. A label on the back indicates that it was in some English collection towards the end of the eighteenth century. . . before it passed into that of Lady Ashburton. From this collection the Gallery has purchased what seems without doubt to be "one of the most lively and emphatic specimens of German painting which the nation has hitherto acquired."

A UNIQUE LIBRARY.

In the *Critic* for September is a description, by Dr. Cyrus Townsend Brady, of the collection which Mr. James Carleton Young, of Minneapolis, has collected and expects to present, together with a suitable building, to the city of his residence. Mr. Young's scheme of collecting is expressed in his own words: "I proposed to place under one roof in the beautiful city of Minneapolis, which I love, all the best books of the living writers of every country in

the world, no matter in what language written. Each volume was to be inscribed by the author in a characteristic manner. If the writer were a poet, it would be desirable to have a poem written on the fly-leaf. . . . In a general way, something should be written about the book or concerning it, so that it became at once unique, and had attached to it forever the personality of the author. In every case the inscription should be signed and dated. Such should be the composition of my library."

By appealing to authors, and adopting a system of mailing to each author return postage and wrappers for the books sent him for inscription, Mr. Young has made it so easy for authors to comply with his wishes that his collection has grown to a great size and is thoroughly representative of the literature of to-day, in every printed language. The library includes also over eight hundred volumes that had been inscribed to Emile Zola by their authors. These Mr. Young purchased after Zola's death. A remarkable autograph collection has naturally followed the books, some twenty thousand names being now represented. Also many autograph copies of by-gone authors have been added by purchase. The collection is to be housed in a noble building of Greek design, to be built on the banks of the Mississippi. Minneapolis will then boast a literary monument without a rival in the world.

A LIBRARY TIED UP IN RED TAPE.

The collection of books formed by the San Francisco millionaire, Adolph Sutro, during the fifteen years preceding his death in 1897, has ever since then been stored away in rooms in two buildings in the heart of San Francisco, waiting, with the rest of Sutro's property, for the judges to decide what division of the estate shall be made among the many heirs who have for seven years been quarreling over it.

One of the heirs, it is said, would like to present it to the city or university. The rest would be better pleased to have it sold for their benefit.

A writer to the Salt Lake City *News* of October 1, has recently been taken through the two old buildings where the books lie in the dust,—

one the Montgomery block on Montgomery Street, the other an old bake-shop with the books piled up in the rooms above. The collection is guessed to contain some two hundred and twenty-five thousand titles, but it has never been arranged or catalogued. The collector's taste was omnivorous, but ran most largely to antiquities of more or less value. Perhaps a third of the collection, the writer thinks, antedates the year 1600. There are many forgeries and booksellers' fake treasures, but there are many genuine rarities. English books are the strongest feature, including much good Shakespeareana. There are many legal documents concerning the dramatist, chief among them the "Rent Rool of Shottery Meadow," containing the original entry of many things concerning the Shakespeare and Hathaway families. Copies of each of the four Folios are stored away with these. There is also a good Ben Jonson collection. The Vinegar Bible and Breeches Bible, prayer-books used by James I, Charles II and George III, and other ecclesiastical rarities lie side by side with a great number of Hebrew books and manuscripts, including that of the famous *Hebrew History of the World*. There are many English pamphlets and broadsides, files of old English and French newspapers, and an extensive book-plate collection.

In the eighties, Mr. Sutro bought from the Bavarian Government whole carloads of ancient volumes taken from the monastic libraries after a persecution of the monks. These include many illuminated manuscripts. A little later, a great collection of manuscripts came from Mexico, and still lies in the packing boxes.

From the range of subjects and the extent of the collection, its almost unknown possibilities are a most tantalizing mystery to California historians, and bibliophiles everywhere. The end of litigation is not in sight. San Francisco is praying that the day may come when the great collection will be turned over to her scholars. The city needs a great collection to attract to her schools men and professors who now feel that they would be hampered in research by living where a fine library is not accessible.

ANTHONY H. EUWER'S BOOK-PLATES.

Will L. Smedley contributes to the September *Craftsman* an appreciation of the work of Anthony H. Euwer, chiefly devoted to his designs for book-plates, of which seventeen are reproduced, together with some rather clever illustrations for his book of nonsense verse, *Rickety Rhymes*. Mr. Euwer's plates are mostly pictorial. A few are pleasingly fanciful, but the average is not above the ordinary run of zinc plates.

BOOK SALES OF THE PAST SEASON.

The September *Burlington Magazine* presents some interesting tables of the most important spring sales in English book-auction rooms, compiled by Frank Rinder. In an introduction Mr. Rinder approves of the "tone" of the past season.

"One of the results of the commercial depression has been to minimize what was rapidly becoming, if it had not already reached, a gamble in certain classes of high-priced books. A year or two ago, when America was prominently represented in nearly every important competition, first editions by nineteenth-century authors of more or less repute, to say nothing of earlier works, were often raised to ridiculously high levels. It was undesirable that the 'pace' should continue—feverish excitement is against the true interests of collecting. The saner tendency is welcome. Bad times and the relative indifference of transatlantic collectors are largely accountable, doubtless, for the fact that no private library of second or even third rate importance has come under the hammer since January. But the general reluctance to place excellent things on the market has resulted in higher prices for the few that have occurred. Dealers, so to say, can hardly give away the commonplace, but for the indisputably valuable there remains keenest demand."

A set of early quarto plays by the Elizabethan dramatists, sold on April 23, showed a great increase of interest. The set of twenty aggregated £1,564, six bringing over £100 each. Mr. Rinder laments that several of the most valuable were purchased by a collector who has no feeling for "original states," and who is going to have them re-bound.

Several fine Shakespeare sales are recorded—a fine 1623 Folio not in Sidney Lee's census for £950, a second (the Ellis-Brodie copy) for £465, a copy of the 1632 Folio with Smethwick title page for £250, the first edition of Henry IV, Part II, quarto, trimmed head-lines, 1600, for £1,035. The late sixteenth and early eighteenth century music books of the late Julian Marshall, 623 lots, sold July 11-12 for £2,126, some of them bringing as many pounds as Mr. Marshall paid shillings for them.

Nineteenth century authors had a great fall, but the first edition of Browning's *Pauline* brought £325, Dickens's *Strange Gentleman* £141, and Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*, £102—all in the original condition.

The second highest autograph price was £1,030, paid for Lord Nelson's letter of Sept. 25, 1805, to Lady Hamilton. Burn's MS. of *The Cotter's Saturday Night* sold for £500, and sixteen other autographs went beyond the hundred pound mark. The phenomenal price was the £4,750 paid by Mr. Morgan for the

scrivener's copy of Book I of *Paradise Lost*. Of mediæval manuscripts the most valuable was an early sixteenth-century French MS. *Horæ* with fifteen full-page miniatures, by Nicholas de Modena, which sold for £720.

An occasional hint of the esoteric meaning of some auction prices is given by such remarks as "At £83 it [Shelley's *Vindication of Natural Diet*, 1813] is said not to have changed hands." "A more ordinary example of [Watteau's *Œuvres*] was acquired in the sale of a prominent personage for £40, this by means of what is euphemistically called skilled concerted action, otherwise a 'knock-out.'"

In this country the "fake record price" is a better known auction-room pest, we believe, than is the "knock-out," which is certainly the more dangerous, as it has all the elements of a conspiracy to defraud.

INDIANA'S EARLIEST IMPRINT.

Indiana newspapers have lately been discussing the first book printed in Indiana, of which only six copies are known. One of these belongs to the editor of the *Salem Democrat*, who gives its title: "The Life of Bonaparte, Late Emperor of the French. . . from his birth until his departure to the Island of St. Helena. By a Citizen of the United States. Salem, Indiana, printed by Patrick & Booth, 1818." The editor presents, in the *Democrat* for Sept. 30, a rehearsal of the theory that Marshal Ney, supposed to have been executed in 1815, escaped that fate and fled to this country, where he taught school in North Carolina for many years. A very old physician of Saltillo, Ind., Dr. Neyman, has always claimed to be the son of Marshal Ney. He insists that Ney wrote this *Life of Bonaparte*, and that his friend Colonel Lehmanowski, who was on Ney's staff at Waterloo and was also a refugee, took the manuscript and superintended the publication of the book. The editor of the *Democrat* adds: "There is one thing certain, speaking of this old book. . . It is not easy to write contemporaneous history calmly or with an approach to impartiality, yet this author, whoever he was, writing while Napoleon was still alive and while Europe had scarcely ceased to tremble from the march of his armies, traces the course of his civil and military career as coolly and with as much apparent care for fidelity of detail as could a writer of the present day. The book is written not only in good narrative style but in excellent English, and besides thorough knowledge of Napoleon's different campaigns, shows intimate acquaintance with the political combinations in Europe at that period."

SALE PRICES OF INCUNABULA.

The July number of *The Library* prints a list compiled by R. A. Peddie, of the incunabula

sold in London during 1903. The list is nearly fifteen pages long, and is conveniently arranged by the country, place, and printer. Over one-fourth of the books are Venetian imprints; over one-half from Italy, one-fourth from Germany. The prices, except for a few noticeable books, show no marked differences in value from the similar list by Mr. Proctor published in *The Library* two years ago.

SOME TWENTIETH-CENTURY ITALIAN CHAP-BOOKS.

The twentieth-century chap-book in England or America is a posing imitation of the genuine chap-book sold on the streets in earlier days. But in Italy the chap-book is a living reality. W. E. A. Axon says in the July *Library* that he has some hundreds of broadsides and booklets all published by Adriano Salani in Florence. "Chap-book literature is often crude and sometimes coarse, but it is mostly free from the licentiousness that so often marks the writings of the Renaissance."

Many of these chap-books are religious in subject, many concerned with priestcraft. Some are historical, some mere chronicles of crime. Debates on all sorts of questions are given, both sides, in a few pages. There are song-books, stories of love and domestic woe, poems, and stories from the classics—all most crudely printed and sold at the lowest prices to the lowest ranks of readers. They form a class of literature seldom brought to the notice of educated persons, but one which must be taken into account in recording the output of the twentieth-century press.

THE LOVE OF BOOKS.

At the meeting of the Library Association at New-Castle-upon-Tyne, August 30, the Presidential speech of Dr. Thomas Hodgkin (reported in the September *Library Association Record*) put some new life into the old subject, "The Love of Books." While confectioners' employes, after the first unhindered gorging, lost all desire for sweets, and bank clerks were known to view bags of gold and piles of silver with aversion, he averred that the librarian was never known to grow weary of the books that surround him.

"It is to me a depressing, an almost appalling thought during how many aeons of human existence on our planet the world was bookless. Palæolithic man seems to have had some aspirations towards the foundation of an art gallery; but even these disappear in his successor, Neolithic man, and we know very well that neither he nor any of the Celtic inhabitants of this country before the Roman invasion knew anything of the use of books."

Their winter evenings were spent about the fire, mending utensils making weapons, listening to well-worn legends. Dreary enough were their hours of loneliness. Through the successive styles of brick tablet libraries, parchment rolls, vellum manuscripts, finally printed books, the speaker traces the spread of the love of books, till the present day, of which he says, "I spoke at the beginning of this address of the dreadful thought of a bookless world, but a book-choked world seems to me only a slightly less dismal thought."

"This is the new peril of the human intellect, the danger of our being 'snowed under' by the infinite snowflakes of the press." Amid this downpour the librarian must stand as the Hierophant of Literature, rejecting, as did those servants of the temple of the Eleusinian mysteries, rejecting the palpably unworthy and guiding promising candidates into the temple.

COLLECTANEA.

ART COLLECTIONS. The Strange Story of the Chantry Bequest. By N. N. *The Nation*, Sept. 1.

The Duke of Fife's Collection at Duff House. I. By Mrs. K. W. Clouston. Illus. *Connoisseur*, September.

Mr. Pyke Thompson's Collections in Cardiff. By Ernest Radford. Illus. *Connoisseur*, August.

ART EXHIBITIONS. The Sieneze exhibition of ancient art. By F. M. Perkins. Illus. *Burlington*, September.

The Primitive French Exhibition at Paris. By Lionel Elliot. Illus. *Connoisseur*, September.

The Exhibition of the French primitifs in Paris. By L. M. Richter. *Studio*, September. Les Miniaturistes l'Exposition des "Primitifs Français." By Henry Martin. Illus. In *Bulletin du Bibliophile et du Bibliothécaire*, May, June, July, August.

AUTHORS. Matthew Arnold and Insularity. *Edinburgh Review*, July.

Honoré de Balzac. By Mary F. Sanders. *Fortnightly Review*, September.

Gerhart Hauptmann. By James Huneker. *Portis. The Lamp*, September.

BRADSHAW. Letters of Henry Bradshaw to Officials of the British Museum. Edited by A. W. Pollard. *Library*, July.

BRUNET. On Brunet's classification scheme. By Edward McKnight. *Library Association Record*, August.

CARICATURE. Caricature in America. By Rufus Rockwell Wilson. Illus. *New England Magazine*, September.

CHAP-BOOKS. Eighteenth Century Chap-Books and Broad-sides. Illus. *The American Chap-Book*, Vol. i, No. 1, September.

COSTUME. English Costume. III, End of the Fourteenth Century. By D. C. Calthrop and

Gilbert Pownall. Illus. *Connoisseur*, September.

CROMWELL. Some Cromwellian relics [in various collections]. By W. B. Boulton, *Connoisseur*, September.

DRAWINGS. Joseph Crawhall, Master Draughtsman. By Percy Bate. Illus. *Studio*, September.

Some sketches by Paul Renouard. By Alder Anderson. Illus. *Studio*, September.

EARLY PRINTING. Der Verbleib der ältesten Gutenbergtype. By Gottfried Zedler. Facsim. In *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Aug.—Sept.

FURNITURE. French furniture. I. By Gaston Gramont. Illus. *Connoisseur*, September.

GLASS. German glass drinking vessels painted in enamel colours. By C. H. Wylde. Illus. *Connoisseur*, September.

Mr. Clement Heaton and his work [Stained Glass.] By Robert Mobbs. Illus. *Studio*, September.

ILLUSTRATION. Die grossen deutschen Verlagsanstalten. Georg Hirth und sein Kunstverlag. By Edouard Engels. Illus. *Zeitschrift für Bucherfreunde*, September.

LITERATURE. Literature as a practical force in England. By J. M. Bulloch. *The Lamp*, September.

Magazine Writing and Literature. By Henry M. Alden. *North American Review*, September.

A second century criticism of Virgil's Etna. By Dr. Charles R. Eastman. *Popular Science Monthly*, September.

The Literature of New Japan. A bibliographical essay. By Frank Weitenkamp. *The Lamp*, September.

MAGIC. The History of Magic during the Christian Era. Reviews of seven works on magic, 1818-1898. *Edinburgh Review*, July.

PAINTERS. William Keith; An Appreciation. By George Wharton James. Illus. *Impressions*, September.

The work of Max Liebermann. By A. E. Lütticke. Illus. *Studio*, September.

Hashimoto Gaho: a modern Master of Japan. By C. H. Caffin. Illus. *Studio*, September.

Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier. Biography, Criticisms, Bibliography. With portrait and 10 plates. *Masters in Art*, September.

George Morland. II. The Engravings. By Martin Hardie. Illus. *Connoisseur*, August.

George Frederick Watts. An Appreciation. By William Knight. *Fortnightly Review*, September.

The Constantine Ionides bequest. II. Ingres, Delacroix, Daumier, and Degas. Illus. *Burlington*, September.

Whistler. The Peacock Room decorations. With 5 illus. *Studio*, September.

POTTERY AND PORCELAIN. Billingsley and Pardoe at Nantgarw. By Mrs. Willoughby

Hodgson. Illus. *Connoisseur*, August.
 Japanese porcelains: Chinese porcelains. By
 Randolph I. Geare. Illus. *Craftsman*, Sep-
 tember.
 Old Leeds ware. I. By H. B. Wilson. Illus.
Connoisseur, September.
 English mediæval tiles. By F. W. Phillips.
 Illus. *Connoisseur*, September.
 Notes on the decorative value of Famille
 Verte (Chinese) porcelain. By Sir William
 Bennett. Illus. *Burlington*, September.
PORTRAITS. The Portrait of Dürer the Elder.
 Notes on a previous article, by several critics.
Burlington, September.
 Notes on Pictures in the [English] Royal
 Collections. III. The Likeness of Christ.
 By Lionel Cust & E. von Dobschütz. Illus.
Burlington, September.
PRIVATE COLLECTIONS. The house and collec-

tions [carvings, furniture, porcelains, decora-
 tive art and paintings] of Mr. Edgar Speyer.
 By P. M. Turner. Illus. *Burlington*, Sep-
 tember.
 The lace collection of Mr. Arthur Blackborne.
 I. By M. Jourdain. *Burlington*, September.
PUBLIC LIBRARIES. Die Stuttgarter Landes-
 bibliothek. By Dr. Steiff. *Zentralblatt für*
Bibliothekswesen, September.
 The India Office Library [London]. By F.
 H. Brown. *Library*, July.
 Zur Geschichte der Eskorial-Bibliothek. II.
 By Dr. Rudolf Beer. *Zeitschrift für Bucher-*
freunde, September.
TYCHO BRAHE. Weitere Exemplare von Tycho
 Brahes Mechanica. By B. Hasselberg, F. R.
 Frös, R. Ewald. *Zentralblatt für Biblio-*
thekswesen, September.



Libbie & Co.'s sales in the near future will include the collection of Henry H. Darrah, the late Boston collector of first editions; the scientific collection of Dr. Charles W. Swan, of Brooklyn; the fine miscellaneous library of the late Joseph Barker Stearns, inventor of the duplex telegraph; and the autograph collection of Prof. and Mrs. Vincenzo Botta. This last contains an interesting MS. horoscope of John Hancock, drawn by Roger Rintoul in London in 1760, when Hancock was twenty-three years old.

A Dickens letter acquired at a London Summer sale by Mr. Walter M. Hill, of Chicago, has unusual interest. It was written to George Cattermole, in explanation of illustrations he wished made for *The Old Curiosity Shop*:

"The child lying dead in the little sleeping-room which is behind the oaken screen. It is winter time, so there are no flowers; but upon her breast, and pillow, and about her bed, there may be slips of holly and berries, and such free green things. Window overgrown with ivy. The little boy who had that talk with her about angels may be by the bedside, if you like it so, but I think it will be quieter and more peaceful if she is quite alone. I want to express the

most beautiful repose and tranquillity, and to have something of a happy look, if death can.

"The child has been buried inside the church, and the old man, who cannot be made to understand that she is dead, repairs to the grave every day, and sits there all day long, waiting for her arrival, to begin another journey. His staff and knapsack, her little bonnet and basket, etc., lie beside him. 'She will come to-morrow,' he says when it gets dark, and goes sorrowfully home. I think an hourglass running out would help the notion. Perhaps her little things upon his knee or in his hands.

"I am breaking my heart over this story, and cannot bear to finish it. Love to Missi's. Ever and always heartily,—
 C. D."

At Yokohama and Tokyo, the Tanuma Publishing Company is issuing a monthly magazine entitled *The Japan-Russian War*. It is a full monthly record of the progress of the war, the letter-press as full as is possible under the censor's restrictions. The illustrations are many and good, and there is a large selection of caricatures. It is altogether a remarkable periodical, well printed at the *Japanese Gazette* press, and will be a very interesting memento after its *raison d'être* has passed away.

An odd thing to think about is a new translation by Rees, of Dante's *Divina Commedia* into the Welsh language. The transition from the most liquid and flowing language of Europe to the most gnarled and knotty tongue is well made, the version being a rhymed one, under the title *Gwyfol Gau*—Divine Song.

The tencentenary of *Don Quixote* is to be celebrated next year in Spain, where plans are already being made for extensive ceremonies in honor of Cervantes.

Loescher & Co., the Roman publishers, have issued a Petrarch bibliography by Emilio Calvi—*Bibliografia Analitica Petrarcesca*,—in commemoration of the recent Petrarch celebrations. It supplements the bibliography of Jacopo Ferrazzi, bringing it down from 1877 to the current year, and gives brief analyses of the works included.

An interesting paper by Henry E. Legler, of Madison, Wisconsin, has been reprinted in pamphlet form from the Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters, Vol. XIV. Mr. Legler's paper is on *A Wisconsin Group of German Poets; with a Bibliography*. The early German settlers of Wisconsin were largely political exiles, and in the '40s and '50s there was a notable group of literary men and women centering at Milwaukee, who gave the publications of that period a high character, which their followers have maintained. Between 1844 and the present day there have been twenty-four German poets whom Mr. Legler finds worthy of inclusion in his study. He gives both biographical and bibliographical information, and a translated version of Konrad Krez's lyric, "An mein Vaterland," which is included in every German anthology. Wisconsin has reason to be proud of her German citizens.

The Riverside Press has established a hand-press room, where Mr. Bruce Rogers, whose individuality shows so strongly in the issues of that Press, intends printing an occasional book from type in the hand-press method that set the standard of fine printing in the hands of the early printers.

The hand-press is still used at many individual presses that are turning out conscientious work; and that the impression should be made directly from the type is such an essential to the connoisseur that we read with some surprise the statement of the Riverside Press, that it is only now partially abandoning electrotype plates for type in the production of its finest books.

The methods for cheap and rapid production necessary in the publishers' editions of many thousand copies should not be tolerated in the private collection of the lover of real books, any

more readily than a piano-playing machine will be endured in the house of a lover of real music.

An appreciation of good bookmaking is growing rapidly in this country, and it is good to see that the public justifies with its support the finer kinds of book production, and is revolting against the fake *édition de luxe* which seemed for a time to be the thing that most pleased it.

The collection of English ballads formed by Professor Francis J. Child, of Harvard University, has been made the basis, since his death, of a volume called *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*. The work is edited by Mrs. Helen Child Sargent and Professor George L. Kittredge of Harvard, and contains three hundred ballads with variants, and with much historical and bibliographical information, and an introduction by Professor Kittredge. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., are the publishers.

A. C. McClurg & Co. have published Patrick Gass's *Journal of the Lewis and Clark Expedition* in a volume uniform with their edition of Father Hennepin's *New Discovery*. It is edited by Dr. James K. Hosmer, editor of their previous *History of the Expedition of Lewis and Clark* and follows the text of the 1811 edition, whose title page and woodcut illustrations are reproduced, with a rare portrait of Gass. The book is handsomely printed, with seventy-five special large paper copies for collectors.

The little pamphlet, *Echoes from the Wagon Wheels*, of which we noted last month that a copy had come into the possession of the Boston Public Library, and that its origin was a matter of doubt, has been identified by Mr. Francis J. Meeker of Newark as having been written and printed by James Beale, of Philadelphia. Mr. Beale, who died six years ago, belonged to the Twelfth Massachusetts Infantry, and the book referred to a reunion of that regiment in Boston. Mr. Beale issued in the same form some other Civil War pamphlets, *John Brown's Body* and *Chancellorsville* among them.

The Boston Public Library has received from Mrs. Charles W. Folsom an important gift of letters selected from the correspondence of the late Charles W. Folsom. Mr. Folsom was for some time librarian of the Boston Athenæum; had been for many years corresponding secretary of the Phi Beta Kappa Society; and had been connected with the University Press during the publication of many important works. Eighty-five leading New Englanders are represented in the correspondence. There are seven letters from Edward Everett, fifty-six from J. G. Palfrey, twenty-six from Bryant, thirty-two

from Longfellow, ninety-six from W. H. Prescott, seventy-seven from Josiah Quincy, fifty-five from Jared Sparks, and lesser numbers from other men in the world of letters. Most of them are on subjects connected with the three offices held by Mr. Folsom.

Mr. F. W. Cross, of Palmer, Mass., discovered in a Springfield second-hand shop the other day a document of much local importance to the town of Palmer, and of broader historic interest as well. It was the original Declaration of Independence adopted by the citizens of Palmer over a year before the Philadelphia Declaration, which resembles it in many points. It bears the signature of Robert Ferrell, Moderator of the meeting.

German lovers of antiquity are rising almost in arms, and are signing by hundreds a petition of protest which Professor Thode has prepared to present to the government of Baden. This outcry is against the government's decision to have the famous Heidelberg Castle "restored." One Baurat Schäfer is the restorative genius who has gotten the favor of the government and the ill-will of the more enlightened part of the populace. Under his direction the "Friedrichsbau," one of the less important wings of the castle, has been "neatly brushed-up," to the dismay of the connoisseurs. The "Otto-Heinrichsbau" is his next objective. This is a beautiful ruin, but in such poor state that new materials would have to be used for most of the restoration. Most of Schäfer's results have proved to be quite lacking in the spirit of the sixteenth century, and as he has also been commissioned with the restoring of the Meissen Cathedral, his opponents are disposed to show their determined objections before his influence extends over the whole country.

The incentive to the recent notable exhibition of primitive French paintings at Paris was an address before the Bruges Conference of 1902 denouncing the French for their neglect of the beginnings of their own art. Stung by these strictures, M. Henri Bouchot undertook to gather an exhibition of paintings to show the existence of an early French School. Now the author of the Bruges address, George H. de Loo, has written a critical essay of much value on *L'Exposition des Primitifs Français au point de vue de l'influence des Frères van Eyck sur la Peinture Française et Provençale*. It bears the imprint "Gand, 1904."

The Plantin Museum at Antwerp is just now the scene of an exhibition of modern book-making. The printing, binding, and illustrative arts of all countries are represented, the period including the years since 1875. England

is said to hold "incontestably the first place for the beauty of her editions, the character of her type and the composition of her pages."

A History of English Furniture, by Percy Macquoid, is to be issued by Lawrence & Bullen in twenty parts with plates in colors and many text illustrations. The work divides English cabinet-making into four periods—the Age of Oak, the Age of Walnut, the Age of Mahogany, and the Composite Age, making a study of the evolution of style.

At the Detroit Public Library is being exhibited a collection of books by the most celebrated printers from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, including Aldus imprints, Juntas, Stephenses, Plantins, Elzevirs, Foulises, Baskervilles, Bodonis, books from the Kelm-scott and other modern English and American presses.

The Macmillans are publishing an interesting thirteen-volume edition of Tennyson, which is to contain in its final volume the Tennyson bibliography which Mr. Thomas J. Wise has spent several years in compiling.

The first part of an extensive *Bibliographie der deutschen Universitäten* is published at Leipzig and Berlin by B. G. Teubner, under the direction of the Prussian Ministry of Education. This first volume, comprising the subject of German Universities in general, is the work of Dr. Wilhelm Erman, and is to be followed by a bibliography of individual universities by his fellow-editor, Prof. Ewald Horn. The field is a broad one—"the entire range of printed works treating of German universities which have appeared up to the end of 1899, including articles in periodicals and collected works." The extent of this literature is shown by the fact that 17,363 titles are described in the first volume alone; while the thoroughness of treatment to be expected of Dr. Erman is displayed in the indication of at least one library in which each book may be found, or if untraceable, of the source of information concerning it.

The entries are chronologically arranged under the many subjects—the purpose and field of universities, their history and statistics, constitution and organization, legal standing, officers, faculties, endowments, degrees, studies, morals, student life, societies, "Burschenschaften," and student song. These make up a volume of eight hundred and fifty octavo pages.

A bibliographical tool of every-day use to the every-day librarian, teacher, editor, etc., to whom the public appeals continually to identify poems from the smallest samples, is *An Index to Poetry and Recitations*, compiled by Edith Granger and published by A. C. McClurg & Co.

Given the author, title, or first line of any of the thirty thousand poems indexed, one is directed to one or a dozen collections of verse in which it may be found. The editor has indexed 369 volumes of poetical selections, and by giving a typographical symbol to each volume indexed she is able to refer to half a dozen books in a single line's space. The long-suffering "Answers to Correspondents" ferreter will now be able to fill his column with long-sought-for quotations at a minimum of exertion, and the teacher and librarian will give thanks, especially as the volume seems to be intelligently compiled and accurate.

W. E. Henry, State Librarian of Indiana, has compiled for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Commission of Indiana a volume on *Municipal and Institutional Libraries of Indiana*. At the time of the Columbian Exposition a monograph was prepared by Jacob Dunn on Indiana Libraries, which the present volume supplements. It contains reports from 79 libraries and statistics of 34 more, and portraits of the two men who have most largely endowed Indiana libraries—William Maclure and Andrew Carnegie.

Mr. Archer M. Huntington, one of the best American authorities on Spanish subjects, has presented his Spanish collection to the Hispanic Society of America. Plans are being prepared for a building in Audubon Park, at One hundred fifty-sixth Street, New York City, which shall form the permanent home of the paintings, coins, books and documents that form the collection. Mr. Huntington has himself added materially to the literature of Spanish history, and has privately reprinted nearly fifty rare Spanish books. His collection has been accumulated at his county home at Bay Chester. With the endowment fund provided for its maintenance, the value of his gift is over a million dollars. The library and museum will be at the service of the public.

The Germanic collection of the late Professor Karl Weinhold, of the University of Berlin, consisting of ten thousand books and pamphlets on German literature, has been acquired by the University of California Library, through a gift of seven thousand dollars from Mr. John D. Spreckels. This will make the University a strong center for Germanic studies in the West.

Bell & Sons have published a monograph on *Pewter Plate* by H. J. L. J. Massé, treating of the subject from a technical standpoint—a work of practical value to the collector, with many illustrations.

A small volume on *Bookplates*, by Edward Almack, is brought out by Methuen & Co. It

is an interesting account of typical book-plates of the past and of the chief methods of reproduction, with a supplementary essay on inscriptions in books. The frontispiece represents a plate taken from a fifteenth-century Latin book and supposed to be the oldest book-plate in existence.

Mr. William Beer's fine collection of maps of New Orleans and the Louisiana territory, atlases, rare books and manuscripts, is on exhibition at the St. Louis Exposition, in the Louisiana authors' section of the Palace of Liberal Arts. Many of the American publishers have exhibits of various sorts, in the Palace of Liberal Arts and in Publishers' Row of the Palace of Education. The Frederick J. Quimby Co. have a hand-press on which they print certain sheets of an elaborate work on parchment; the artists add the illuminations, and the binding is done. A Chicago firm of binders, Ringer and Herzberg, have a display of hand tooled bindings. They are the only American binders exhibiting their processes.

Many of the State buildings exhibit manuscripts and maps of historical value, the Iowa collection being the finest. The Philippine exhibit has also some interesting books to show.

The Library of Congress has two large exhibits in the Government Building. One contains a cross-section model of the Library building, showing its equipment and mechanical administration. Collections from different divisions of the library are shown, especially good being the music department's display. A collection of maps bearing on the purpose of the Exposition has one case, a series of Jefferson portraits another. In the manuscript exhibit the processes are displayed by which valuable papers are preserved from fading and decay. In the smaller section of the exhibit is a display arranged in coöperation with the American Library Association, showing the extent and character of the libraries of the country by charts, pictures and exhibits of modern processes of cataloguing, etc.

The exhibit proper of the A. L. A. is the model library in the Missouri State building. This is furnished in modern perfection by the Library Bureau, and contains eight thousand volumes and periodicals, which are listed in the revised *A. L. A. Catalog*, compiled from the titles chosen by nearly three hundred librarians as the best books for a small library. The catalogue is printed by the Library of Congress, and the exhibit is made under the direction of the St. Louis Public Library.

The death of Mr. Robert B. Adam of Buffalo a short time ago has narrowed the circle of American book collectors. Mr. Adam was a collector who, though a business man, made extensive use of his literary treasures. His

collection of Johnsoniana, perhaps the best in the world, was used in the amplification of Birkbeck Hill's edition of Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, which he published in 1895, extra-illustrated with reproductions of rare portraits and prints and original manuscripts. His collection of the letters of Mrs. Dunlop he published complete in two volumes. Of first editions of Ruskin Mr. Adam's possessed nearly the complete series, beside some unpublished manuscripts; and his Burns collection included the original manuscript of *Tam O'Shanter*.

A *Dictionary of Indian Biography* is in preparation by Swan Sonnenschein & Co. It

will give brief biographies of all men and women whose names are distinguished in connection with England's reign in the Empire of India.

The last work of the late Laurence Hutton was a compilation of his own reminiscences, which he partly wrote and partly dictated, finishing it only a few days before his death. This autobiographical work will be published in two volumes by G. P. Putnam's Sons. The same firm will bring out the last of Mr. Hutton's Landmarks series, *The Literary Landmarks of the Scottish Universities*, for which he was reading proofs up to the time of his death.



AUCTION SALES OF PRIVATE LIBRARIES.

Editor LITERARY COLLECTOR—

Dear Sir: Can you inform me how long the habit of selling private libraries at public auction has prevailed?

T. G., GERMANTOWN, PA.

[At Leyden, July 6, 1599, the library of Marnix of St. Aldegonde was sold by Christopher Poret. This is the earliest recorded sale. In England, the first to be auctioned was the library of Dr. Lazarus Seaman. This was an eight days' sale, with a catalogue of 137 pages. In America, the library of the Reverend Samuel Lee was catalogued for sale by Duncan Campbell in 1693, probably the first American auction catalogue.—Editor.]

Editor THE LITERARY COLLECTOR:

Sir,—The Connecticut Historical Society's Library contains a copy of one of the pamphlets written by Jupiter Hammon. Its title is:

A Winter Piece: being a Serious Exhortation, with a call to the Unconverted: and a short Contemplation on the Death of Jesus Christ. Written by Jupiter Hammon, A Negro Man belonging to Mr. John Lloyd, of Queen's Village, on Long Island, now in Hartford. Published by the Author with the Assistance of his Friends. Hartford. Printed for the Author. M.DCC.LXXXII. Octavo, 24 pages, the last two pages being A Poem for Children with Thoughts on Death.

Two other pamphlets by him are *An Essay on the Ten Virgins*, Hartford, 1779, and *An Evening's Improvement. Shewing the Necessity of beholding the Lamb of God*. To which is added A Dialogue, Hartford, [1783]. A. C. B.

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